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# HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

OF THE  
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

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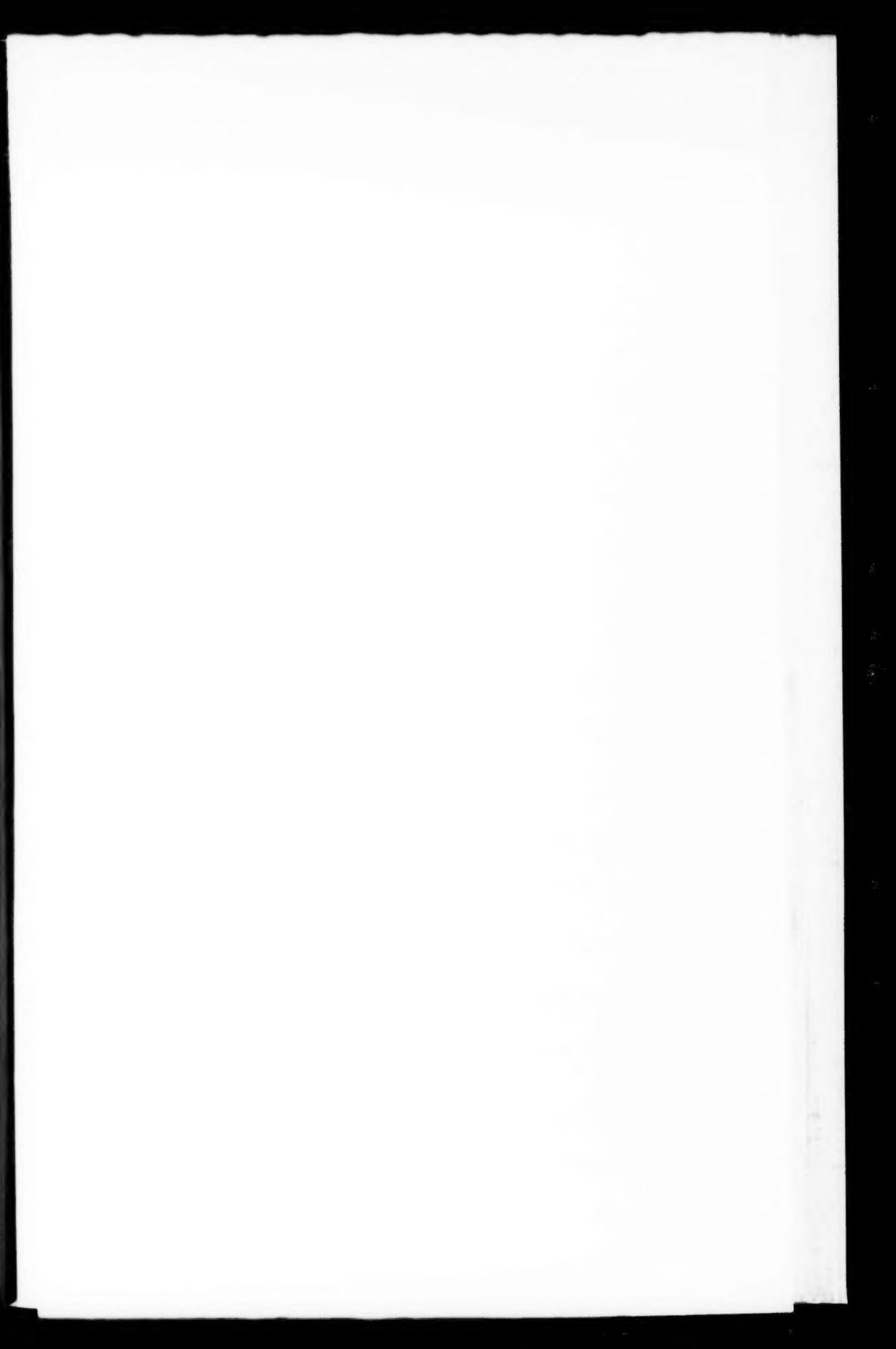
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# Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church

VOL. XIII

SEPTEMBER, 1944.

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## EDITORIAL

### PROFESSOR KLINGBERG: ASSOCIATE EDITOR.

THE Joint Committee on HISTORICAL MAGAZINE announces with great pleasure that, upon the nomination of the Editor-in-Chief, Professor Frank J. Klingberg, of the University of California at Los Angeles, has been elected an Associate Editor of HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, and that he has accepted.

Professor Klingberg's valuable contributions to the pages of the Magazine are well known to our readers. They may not know, however, that he is a Churchman of the Diocese of Los Angeles, and that he is one of the most productive scholars of the great university on the Pacific Coast.

Innumerable articles, monographs and reviews have appeared from his pen in such journals as the *American Historical Review*, *Journal of Modern History*, *Pacific Historical Review*, *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, *Journal of Negro Education*, *Journal of Negro History*, *Journal of Southern History*, *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*; and in such works as the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* and the *Dictionary of American Biography*.

His published books have been:

*The Anti-Slavery Movement in England: A Study in English Humanitarianism* (New Haven and London, 1926, pp. 390).

*A Side-Light on Anglo-American Relations, 1839-1858*, with A. H. Abel (Washington, 1927, pp. 415).

*Old Sherry: Portrait of a Virginia Family* (Richmond, 1938, pp. 218).

*Anglican Humanitarianism in Colonial New York* (Philadelphia, 1940, pp. 295).

*An Appraisal of the Negro in Colonial South Carolina* (Washington, 1941, pp. 180).

*The Morning of America* (New York, 1941, pp. 479).

"India under the New Constitution," in the volume, *The Renaissance of Asia* (Berkeley, 1941).

"The Rise of the Negro in Africa," in the volume, *Africa, The Near East, and the War* (Berkeley, 1943).

*The Near East, and the War* (Berkeley, 1943).

*Main Currents in English History* (New York, 1943, pp. 209).

Volumes soon to appear are:

*The Warning Drum: The British Home Front Faces Napoleon—Broadside of 1803*, with S. B. Hustvedt (University of California Press, pp. 288).

*Religion and American Institutions*. A group volume, of which Professor Klingberg is senior editor and the contributor of the leading article. To be published by the University of Chicago Press.

*The Papers of Commissary Gideon Johnston*, a fresh commentary on the crucial years of setting up a colony, including the development of schools, libraries, churches, and civil laws. To be about 250 pages.

Professor Klingberg's special interest in the history of humanitarianism has made him an outstanding authority on the history and work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (the S. P. G.). The 50,655 manuscript pages of the Society's colonial records comprise "the most important single source for an understanding of American character, the processes of Americanization, and the broad story of American culture. As a mine of information, these documents are inexhaustible, forming the greatest body of non-governmental materials up to the year 1783."

It is to be hoped that Professor Klingberg will be able to crown his years of labor with a comprehensive history of the S. P. G. in the American colonies.

WALTER H. STOWE, *Chairman,*  
THE JOINT COMMITTEE OF GENERAL CON-  
VENTION ON HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

## EVANGELICAL CATHOLICISM:

### W. A. MUHLENBERG AND THE MEMORIAL MOVEMENT

*E. R. Hardy, Jr.\**

#### I

THE General Convention of 1853 opened its sessions in Trinity Church, New York, on the 5th of October. The program of its opening service is a typical one for the period. The Rev. M. A. DeWolfe Howe read morning prayer, the Rev. William Cooper Mead reading the lessons; the Ven. John Sinclair, archdeacon of Middlesex, read the litany, and the presiding bishop, Bishop Brownell of Connecticut, officiated at the ante-communion, assisted by two missionary bishops—W. J. Boone of China, and G. T. Spencer, some time bishop of Madras. Bishop McIlvaine preached a missionary sermon on the text "The harvest truly is plenteous, but the laborers are few," after which the presiding bishop, assisted by the other bishops present, administered the holy communion.<sup>1</sup> It need not surprise us that nothing else but formal organization was accomplished on the first day. The remaining sessions were held at St. John's Chapel, which for many years after its consecration in 1807 was a favorite place of meeting of both general and diocesan conventions. By the standards of modern conventions the program of this one seems somewhat leisurely. The houses met for morning prayer at 9 (11 on Mondays) and adjourned at 3. The amount of business, however, necessitated an evening session on the 25th, and even so final adjournment had to be postponed to the next day.

General attention at this convention was about equally divided between missionary matters, and problems arising out of the Oxford Movement controversies. The presence of a delegation from the S. P. G. and the celebration of its 150th anniversary emphasized the missionary interest. The convention had before it an application for admission

\*Dr. Hardy is Instructor in Hebrew in the General Theological Seminary, New York City. On January 1st next he will become Associate Professor of Church History in the Berkeley Divinity School, New Haven. *Editor's note.*

<sup>1</sup>*General Convention Journal*, 1853, pp. 1, 154.

from the Church in California; it refused to accept it as a diocese, but elected William Ingraham Kip as a missionary bishop for that area. No less than fifteen canons were passed. One of these provided for the ordination of candidates to the diaconate if they were "well acquainted with the Scriptures and the Book of Common Prayer" and "well qualified to minister in the office of a Deacon," subject to the proviso that a deacon so ordained could not be put in charge of a parish until he had passed the normal canonical examination.<sup>2</sup> This, in the opinion of the *Churchman* of November 5, was one of the most significant actions of the convention, and likely to be of great value in the missionary work of the Church. That publication felt even greater satisfaction in the rejection of a proposed canon which would have allowed the services in missionary stations and other places which were not organized parishes to consist of selections from the Book of Common Prayer instead of the full services of that book. The discussion of this proposal, in its opinion, "called out the conservative feeling of the House to a degree for which few were prepared, but in which all rejoiced."<sup>3</sup> As a result the rigid prescriptions of canon 45 of 1832 continued to govern the worship of the Episcopal Church. These were as follows:

Every Minister shall, before all sermons and lectures, and on all other occasions of public worship, use the Book of Common Prayer, as the same is or may be established by the authority of the General Convention of this Church. And in performing said Service, no other prayers shall be used than those prescribed by the said book.

Though unwilling to release its missionaries from this obligation, the convention was not uninterested in their activities; the reports it received include Bishop Payne's first episcopal report from Liberia and the news of the first ordination of the American Church Mission in China, and among its actions were improvements in the canons relating to missionary bishops and the election of the first bishop of Oregon. A less pleasant subject of discussion was the canonical problem raised by the resignation of Bishop Ives of North Carolina, in connection with his reception into the Roman Communion. He had naturally not gone through the elaborate procedure then required for the resignation of a bishop. Canons were passed to provide for the case of clergy who aban-

<sup>2</sup>Canon 5 of 1853; this seems to be ignored in the treatment of the ordination canons in E. A. White, *Constitution and Canons*, New York, 1924.

<sup>3</sup>*Churchman*, vol. 23, November 5, 1853, p. 143.

doned the communion of this Church, and on October 14 the presiding bishop read in the presence of both houses a strongly-worded act of deposition.<sup>4</sup>

Such was the atmosphere and such were the concerns of the general convention at which the document commonly known as the "Muhlenberg Memorial" was submitted. One would like to visualize the scene in some dramatic manner. But this the sources do not permit. In those days the House of Bishops had increased to about thirty members, but its meetings were held in the same privacy as in the days when three or four bishops had met in a rectory parlor or bedroom. In the 1850's the House of Deputies usually met in a church and the bishops in the adjoining vestry. It was, therefore, probably in the vestry of St. John's that Bishop Wainwright, provisional bishop of New York, presented the famous memorial, on October 18, 1853. It has been published so often<sup>5</sup> that it seems better to summarize it here. The memorialists approach "the Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in Council assembled" as "presbyters of the Church of which you have the oversight" with an expression of deep anxiety as to the "actual posture of our Church with reference to the great moral and social necessities of the day." They are distressed by

The divided and distracted state of our American Protestant Christianity, the new and subtle forms of unbelief adapting themselves with fatal success to the spirit of the age, the consolidated forces of Romanism bearing with renewed skill and activity against the Protestant faith, and as more or less the consequence of these, the utter ignorance of the Gospel among so large a proportion of the lower classes of our population, making a heathen world in our midst. . . .

To meet the exigencies of the times they believe that the Protestant Episcopal Church is inadequate

with only her present canonical means and appliances, her fixed and invariable modes of public worship and her traditional customs and usages. . . .

Consequently

<sup>4</sup>*General Convention Journal*, 1853, pp. 175-176.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 181-2; reprinted in Anne Ayres, *The Life and Work of William Augustus Muhlenberg*, New York, 1881, pp. 263-267; W. S. Perry, *The History of the American Episcopal Church*, Boston, 1885, 2 vols., vol. ii, pp. 292-294 and elsewhere.

a wider door must be opened for admission to the Gospel ministry than that through which her candidates for holy orders are now obliged to enter.

This possibility will, they believe, appeal to others besides Episcopalians :

it is believed that men can be found among the other bodies of Christians around us, who would gladly receive ordination at your hands, could they obtain it, without that entire surrender which would now be required of them, of *all* the liberty in public worship to which they have been accustomed—

Such an "accession to your means in executing your high commission, 'Go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature'" ought not to be refused "for the sake of conformity in matters recognized in the preface to the Book of Common Prayer as unessentials." The extension of orders to the class contemplated

(with whatever safeguards, not infringing on evangelical freedom, which your wisdom might deem expedient), appears to your petitioners to be a subject supremely worthy of your deliberations.

Besides the immediate good effected, the action proposed would be a considerable step

towards the effecting of a Church unity in the Protestant Christendom of our land. To become a central bond of union among Christians, who, though differing in name, yet hold to the one faith, the one Lord, and the one Baptism, and who need only such a bond to be drawn together in closer and more primitive fellowship, is here believed to be the peculiar province and high privilege of your venerable body as a College of CATHOLIC AND APOSTOLIC BISHOPS *as such*.

The ultimate design of the memorialists is that there may grow up under the bishops' auspices

some ecclesiastical system, broader and more comprehensive than that which you now administer, surrounding and including the Protectant Episcopal Church as it now is, leaving that Church untouched, identical with that Church in all its great principles, yet providing for as much freedom in opinion, discipline and worship as is compatible with the essential faith and order of the Gospel.



To form such a system must, they believe, "sooner or later be the work of an American Catholic Episcopate." In conclusion the memorialists state that while they are aware that others share their views, they know of no other intended public expression of them. They defend themselves from the charge of intrusion by reference to the purpose of the General Convention as stated in the Prayer Book—"that the comfortable Gospel of Christ may be truly preached, truly received, and truly followed, in all places." This object demands "some greater concert of action among Protestant Christians, than any which yet exists," and the proposal of the memorial is submitted to the right reverend fathers in the hope that they will take the first step thereto. Rather anticlimactically, the memorial ends

Praying that it may not be dismissed without reference to a Commission, and assuring you, Right Reverend Fathers, of our dutiful veneration and esteem,

We are

Most Respectfully,

Your brethren and Servants

in the Gospel of Christ. . . .

To those who were familiar with the personalities and politics of the Church of the time, the names which followed would have suggested that the memorial was mainly an evangelical document. With the addition of the information given in the 1853 clergy list, they are as follows:

W. A. Muhlenberg, pastor of the Church of the Holy Communion, New York

C. F. Crusé, librarian of the General Theological Seminary

Philip Berry, rector of the Church of the Ascension, Exopus, N. Y. (West Park.)

Edwin Harwood, rector of the Church of the Incarnation, New York

G. T. Bedell, rector of the Church of the Ascension, New York

Henry Gregory, rector of St. Paul's Church, Syracuse, N. Y.

Alex. H. Vinton, rector of St. Paul's Church, Boston

M. A. DeWolfe Howe, rector of St. Luke's Church, Philadelphia

S. H. Turner, professor of Biblical learning in the General Seminary

S. R. Johnson, professor of systematic divinity in the General Seminary

C. W. Andrews, rector of Trinity Church, Shepherdstown, Va. (now in West Virginia)



Even now the most conspicuous names on the list will be recognized by the student as evangelical leaders of the period—Bedell, Vinton, Turner, Andrews, the last-named in later years rather prominent as a controversialist. Some of the others might have been considered high churchmen, but only the gentle Professor Johnson was at all widely known as such. There was, however, a supplementary list of signers, who agreed that the times called for "some special efforts to promote unity among Christians, and to enlarge for that and other great ends the efficiency of the Protestant Episcopal Church," but who could not adopt all the proposals of the memorial and therefore merely joined "most heartily" in the request that it be referred to a commission of the House of Bishops. This was headed by a group of high churchmen—John Henry Hobart, jr., and Edward Y. Higbee, assistants at Trinity Church, New York, and A. Cleveland Coxe, then at St. John's, Hartford—followed by Francis Vinton of Grace Church, Brooklyn Heights, and Isaac G. Hubbard of St. Michael's, Manchester, N. H. Each list of names terminated vaguely "and others." There seems to be no way of determining now who the others were.

So the memorial appeared on the face of it to have made some appeal to diverse elements in the Church, with most definite support from the evangelical side. But though signed by a number it was not a collective document. Its author and promoter was Dr. Muhlenberg, and to him we must now turn to see with what intention he launched it.

## II

Though not expressed with complete clarity, the memorial of 1853 had two ends in view—greater effectiveness in the work of the Episcopal Church, and progress towards Christian unity. These two purposes were central interests of William Augustus Muhlenberg throughout his long ministry. It has often been said, but will bear repetition, that many of the forms of our present-day church life derive from one or another of his activities—the boys' school as we know it, the active and organized parish, the sisterhood, the church hospital largely owe their inspiration to him. Yet though he was a central figure in the Episcopal Church his interests were always both broader and narrower than Anglican Christianity. In this connection the significance of his Lutheran background must not be forgotten. It was not for nothing that he was a great-grandson of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, the patriarch and organizer of American Lutheranism in the 18th century. According to his biographer, W. A. Muhlenberg in his boyhood at-

tended by his own preference the Episcopal Church in Philadelphia, at first largely because the Lutheran Church was still purely German. His example led his family into it.<sup>6</sup> His great-uncle, General Peter Muhlenberg (who though in orders was not exercising his ministry, and who held a prominent place among the Lutheran laity of Philadelphia) was one of the leaders in the first unsuccessful effort to introduce the English language into the Lutheran Church in that city.<sup>7</sup> In the colonial period the prominent distinction of the Church of England from other religious bodies in the middle colonies had been nationality and language. Indeed the principle that ours was the English Church, and therefore the proper Church for those of other national groups who adopted the English language, long continued to exert some influence; in fact is not yet entirely extinct. Certainly in the case of Muhlenberg the boy's preference ripened into the man's love and conviction. But still it was a different attitude from that of those who owed their Episcopalianism either to inheritance or to conversion. To sum it up briefly, as he might have put it, Muhlenberg never desired either to make exclusive claims for the Episcopal Church or to see it lapse into a sectarian position. Muhlenberg retained throughout life a natural interest in and appreciation of the Church of his ancestors.<sup>8</sup> Many of his practical proposals were in effect the introduction into our church life of features which were to be found in the Lutheran tradition or the Lutheran benevolent activities of his own day. This strain marks his activities from the "Plea for Christian Hymns" in 1821<sup>9</sup> to the rather paternalistic idea of a Christian community which inspired the foundation of St. Johnland, in Muhlenberg's old age. Some of the ritual and ceremonial features which he introduced at St. Paul's College and the Church of the Holy Communion coincided with those promoted as a result of the catholic revival in Anglicanism. But, in the technical sense of the term, it seems to have been from evangelical rather than catholic sources that Muhlenberg learned to value the eastward position in prayer, the prominence of the altar with its sacred symbols, and the popular as well as liturgical observance of the church year. All these elements of catholic worship Muhlenberg found preserved among Lutherans (one must add to be quite accurate, not generally among the American Lutherans of his own generation), while puritan bareness

<sup>6</sup>Ayres, *Muhlenberg*, pp. 12-16.

<sup>7</sup>Cf. A. G. Weng, "The Language Problem in the Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania, 1745-1820," in *Church History*, vol. v, 1936, pp. 359-375; pp. 364-366.

<sup>8</sup>Cf. his sermon from his great-grandfather's pulpit in 1860—"Sermon Preached at the Reopening of the Church of Augustus" in *Evangelical Catholic Papers*, New York, 2 vols., 1875-1877, vol. ii, pp. 209-261.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 11-36.

reigned in the worship of even high church Episcopalians, except for the one custom of decorating the church with greens at Christmas.<sup>10</sup> As he noted in an editorial in 1852

The other day we visited, in the Eastern part of the city, a humble little Church of the *old* Lutheran school. There was the altar with the crucifix, with the tall candles, lighted during the Eucharist;—There lay the service book, parts of which are intoned by the minister, fronting the altar, directing him to make the sign of the cross over the elements when repeating the words of the Institution,—but there, too, stood the pulpit, from which sounds forth the reformation doctrine of Justification by Faith,—there, every Sunday, the children are indoctrinated in Luther's catechism. The good pastor would have smiled had we expressed any fears of Popery from what we saw. He would have told us that "Faith cometh by hearing," and that when a clear and scriptural faith is received, the symbolism of his altar and ritual only tells of "the truth as it is in Jesus."<sup>11</sup>

At St. Paul's School, later for a time St. Paul's College, in Flushing, Muhlenberg had the freedom of a private chapel, in which he was conducting family prayers rather than formal services. His "old boys" of 1826-1845 included many of the leaders of the Church in the next generation. For many of them the chapel services with their unusual variety, the solemnity of Holy Week and the lights and incense of Christmas, were the deepest memories of school days. This pre-Tractarian ritualism opened the minds of some to theological emphases different from those of their preceptor.

Though happily busy in his school, Muhlenberg did not in those years forget the broader affairs of the Church. In 1835 he published *Hints On Catholic Union*, in which the ideas of the memorial and others as well are anticipated.<sup>12</sup> He begins by saying that while unity in faith and love is of most importance, its expression in visible outward union is greatly desirable. As a step towards this he proposes "a confederacy among the leading Protestant Churches." They could agree in doctrine by framing an expansion of the Apostles' Creed, asserting

beside the nature and attributes of God as acknowledged by all Christians, the divinity and atonement of Jesus Christ, the fallen condition of man, the regeneration and sanctification of the soul by the Holy Spirit, the justification of the sinner by

<sup>10</sup>Cf. W. W. Manross, *The Episcopal Church in the United States, 1800-1840*. New York, 1938, pp. 177-179.

<sup>11</sup>*Evangelical Catholic*, vol. i, April 24, 1852, p. 133.

<sup>12</sup>Reprinted in *Evangelical Catholic Papers*, vol. i, pp. 7-76.

faith in Christ alone, and good works the necessary fruit of faith . . . .<sup>13</sup>

Their ministries could be united by a common agreement on a form of ordination which all could recognize as "sufficient, and not repugnant to the word of God." Worship could be harmonized by deciding on passages of Scripture to be read on Sundays, and on certain hymns and prayers to be used in common. Finally, there should be a council for common affairs, and articles of union should embrace the above points, "also declaring that all the churches composing the union are true parts of the holy Catholic Church."<sup>14</sup> If this program is too much, at least let a congress of churches be held to discuss it.

Part II of the pamphlet dealt with union as it might be viewed by the Episcopal Church. The principles of the latter the author takes to be

- First, — the doctrines of the Gospel as taught in the Thirty-Nine Articles, including the leading principle, that the Scriptures alone are the rule of faith.
- Second,—The obligation of adhering to Episcopacy as the channel of the ministry, and derived by succession from the Apostles.
- Third,— The expediency, sanctioned by scriptural precedent, and the earliest usage, of precomposed prayers in some established liturgy.<sup>15</sup>

Those who wish to see the ministry of the Church extended to all classes will, he believes, welcome any plan of union which does not violate these principles. An approach to it may be found, he thinks, in the principle that while a bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church as such has no right to ordain any who do not conform to the rules of that Church, yet "as a Bishop of the Church Catholic and apostolic" he should not refuse the ministerial commission to any qualified applicant, even should he differ in some points (*e. g.*, the propriety of infant baptism) from the rules of the Episcopal Church. He proposes therefore that the necessary changes be made to allow bishops to ordain

Candidates for the ministry at large (to be amenable, however, to some ecclesiastical tribunal), or in other evangelical churches . . . on the single condition of due qualification and soundness in the faith. . . .<sup>16</sup>

<sup>13</sup>Reprinted in *Evangelical Catholic Papers*, vol. 1, p. 20.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 29.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 35-36.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 45.

To non-Episcopalians he then addresses the plea that episcopal ordination satisfies the requirement set down before, of being generally acceptable, for the common-sense reason that

as to the validity of ordination . . . non-Episcopalians may be right, but Episcopalians cannot, by common consent, be wrong.<sup>17</sup>

For himself he maintains that church history turns the scale in favor of the episcopalian interpretation of the New Testament. If, however, episcopal ordination is not accepted, all difficulties might be removed by joint ordination, an ordaining council of ministers of various churches, with a bishop and two presbyters of the Episcopal Church, being formed in each principal city. The pamphlet closes with a eulogy of "the catholic spirit of the Episcopal Church," as shown by its constant prayer for the Church Universal, and by the freedom allowed by its standards "within the circle of evangelical truth."

Since this particular combination of ideas was definitely individual, it has seemed worthwhile to summarize it at some length. Even in his last years Muhlenberg reaffirmed the principles he had then put forward, although some of the proposals never came any nearer to being put into effect than they were in 1835. For some years after that, however, his own position had been affected by the influence of the Oxford Movement. In later years he considered himself as having fortunately escaped involvement in the perils of Puseyism. In a statement of 1872 he said

I was never a High Churchman. Receiving my theology from Bishop White, the Apostolic Succession and Sacramentarian doctrine<sup>18</sup> were alike foreign to my system,—if I ever had a system; but I have been claimed by High Churchmen because of my Liturgic, or what would now be called Ritualistic propensities, or to use another word—*aesthetic*. . . .

When the "Tracts for the Times" appeared, I was much interested in them, and still more in Mr. Newman's sermons. These, I must confess, captivated me. I read them frequently in the chapel of St. Paul's College, and frankly acknowledge that for some three years, I might have been classed among the Puseyites. Yet, how radically wanting I was in their system may be judged from the fact that I never received the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration.

But the Instructors caught the infection, and "Puseyism,"

<sup>17</sup>Reprinted in *Evangelical Catholic Papers*, vol. 1, p. 48.

<sup>18</sup>It is pleasant to note that Dr. Muhlenberg was well enough versed in theological terms not to confuse sacramentarianism, i. e., Zwinglianism, with Sacramentalism.



not however to the degree attributed to us, prevailed in the religious sentiment of the College. Then I began to see that its logical results were Romanism; and from that, if it were the truth, I would not shrink.

Mr. Newman's "Doctrine of Development," fully opened my eyes. I well remember, how, having read half through the book, I tossed it from me, exclaiming, "My soul is escaped as a bird from the snare of the fowler," and some of my then pupils, now in the ministry, will recollect the emphasis with which I repeated to them these words: "I was far out on the bridge, so to speak, that crosses the gulf between us and Rome. I had passed through the mists of vulgar Protestant prejudices, when I saw before me 'The Mystery of Abomination.' I flew back, not to rest on the pier of High Churchism, from which this bridge of Puseyism springs, but on the solid rock of Evangelical truth, as republished by the reformers."<sup>19</sup>

The experience thus dramatically described was doubtless a gradual shift and transition, during most of which Muhlenberg was at least half a tractarian, and seemed to the public to be entirely such. As his biographer notes, visits to Newman and Pusey were the high spots of his visit to England in 1843.<sup>20</sup> In the matters which attracted most attention the Church of the Holy Communion, when he started it, was a practical manifestation of tractarian principles. His writings of the time certainly suggest that he had not accepted, or perhaps fully realized, the solid core of tractarian theology. But in religious practice he was emphasizing those matters which the tractarians also stressed.

Muhlenberg's speech at the cornerstone-laying of the Church of the Holy Communion in 1844 lays down the principles on which it was founded. Consecrated especially "to fellowship in Christ, and to the great ordinance of his love" it was to have no place for social distinctions in its parish life, as there can be none at the altar rail. It was to look for support mainly to the offerings at the Holy Communion, the "spirit of the Offertory" being recognized in common giving to the needs of the brotherhood. It would be free from ecclesiastical politics, since connected with the larger Church only "through the union of the Pastor and the people with their Bishop"—in other words, there would be no vestry, and no delegates to the diocesan convention. This last point may sound, and perhaps was, paternalistic, but it was a clear protest against the then normal system of the control of parishes by an oligarchy of pew holders. Finally, it was to be a "house of unceasing Prayer," with daily services and frequent com-

<sup>19</sup> Ayres, *Muhlenberg*, pp. 171-173.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 165-168.

munions, indeed "a Tabernacle of the Holy Eucharist—a church in which the one Great Sacrifice shall be commemorated continually, ever 'showing forth the Lord's death until He come'—where the devout stranger shall never come on a holy day and find the Table without the bread, the Altar without the oblation."<sup>21</sup>

With these aims in view, the Church of the Holy Communion was opened in 1846, and consecrated by Bishop Ives on the third Sunday in Advent of that year, the bishop of New York being under suspension. A few weeks later appeared the first of a series of *Pastoral Tracts* addressed to the congregation. It contained extracts from Muhlenberg's sermon on the Sunday after the consecration, in which his theme was "the keeping of the 'Catholic Faith whole and undefiled',—as that was the great condition on which the bishop of the diocese of North Carolina consented to consecrate the Church." That faith, the preacher declared, is found in the catholic creeds; among us it is kept whole, since

we have the Christian Ministry, as it has come down to us in an unbroken series of ordinations, from those on whom the great High Priest first laid hands; we have the Holy Sacraments; we have incorporated in our services parts of the most ancient liturgies; we have various "forms of sound words."<sup>22</sup>

At the same time we keep this faith undefiled from Roman and other abuses. So our Church, which should become, if she reached her ideal, the American Catholic Church, does not renounce the name of Protestant, however much that title has been misused. The tract then offers reasons for the conspicuous position of the altar and for the adoption of the eastward position by the minister in prayer. Another tract in the same series expounds a practice adopted at the holy communion which roused considerable interest—the separation of the services. As the title, *Morning Prayer Restored*,<sup>23</sup> indicates, the schedule adopted was the reverse of that which has since become customary. Morning prayer was read on Sundays at the early hour for which it was designed, and the litany and holy communion, separated by an introit psalm, followed as the principal service of the day. Such an arrangement was clearly contemplated by the rubrics, even in the American Prayer Book of 1789, and abundantly supported by older historical evidence. But this division of the services was such a break with prevalent custom as to be considered almost certainly uncanonical, at least contrary to the "wor-

<sup>21</sup>In *Evangelical Catholic Papers*, vol. ii, pp. 75-86; for Muhlenberg's feeling about pewholders cf. *Exposition of the Memorial*, *Ibid.*, vol. i, pp. 88.

<sup>22</sup>*Pastoral Tracts*, No. i, New York, 1847, p. 6; this seems to suggest more belief in the Apostolic Succession than Muhlenberg remembered in 1871.

<sup>23</sup>*Pastoral Tracts*, No. 3, New York, 1847; cf. also No. 4, *The Weekly Eucharist*, New York, 1848.



ship of the Protestant Episcopal Church" which the clergy so solemnly promise to conform to.

The Church of the Holy Communion was regarded with curiosity and even subjected to attacks.<sup>24</sup> But its pastor went on his quiet way, developing in it the beauty of worship and the splendor of good works. The dignified services and frequent communions were the center of parochial activities and a wider interest in community welfare—most, in fact, of what we now consider normal healthy parish life, but much of which was then considered dangerous innovation. In 1847 the first parochial Christmas tree of our history was set up—as Dr. Muhlenberg amused himself by observing to an English friend on the occasion, John Bull had nothing to do with that, it was pure "Vaterland."<sup>25</sup> The two closely related projects of the Sisterhood of the Holy Communion and St. Luke's Hospital were launched, the latter as yet only a project.

During these years Muhlenberg's mind shifted from the tractarianism which still seems to predominate in 1847 back to a more evangelical emphasis, yet certainly different from the partisan evangelicalism of so many of his contemporaries. This new position clamored for expression, and in 1851 it found it through the publication of a magazine under Muhlenberg's editorship. *The Evangelical Catholic* bore on its masthead the slogan, "For His Body's Sake, Which is the Church." The church public of the time would have been reminded by this of the motto which the *Churchman* bore aloft every week, "Devotion to the United Interests of the Gospel of the Church," and the text on its front page, "The Church of the Living God, the Pillar and Ground of the Truth." The choice of the slogan suggested that Muhlenberg's organ would exhibit points both of agreement and of difference with the representative of strict and even intransigent high churchmanship, which the *Churchman* then was. The cover of the *Evangelical Catholic* gave it the further description of being "Devoted Chiefly to Matters of Practical Christianity," a claim to which it lived up on the whole. It is made up in large part of the general edifying matter which church papers were accustomed to borrow from each other, but is distinguished by a considerable attention to social conditions in America and England, and by a number of articles and news reports of German origin. Muhlenberg's special concerns appeared in it periodically, although the paper was no mere house organ. In the first volume we find several reports of the progress of the St. Luke's project and discussions of the "Protestant Sisterhood" which was closely connected with it.<sup>26</sup> The treatment of

<sup>24</sup>"It was the 'advanced' parish of the moment." (Morgan Dix, *Harriet Starr Cannon*, New York, 1896, p. 19.)

<sup>25</sup>Ayres, *Muhlenberg*, p. 211.

<sup>26</sup>*Evangelical Catholic*, vol. 1, pp. 6-7, 132-133, 169-170, 200.

this latter subject reflected Muhlenberg's increasing dissociation from Anglo-Catholicism; in connection with it he stresses the principle that such sisterhoods should not follow Roman models, and illustrates his position by the passage on Lutheran ritualism quoted above.

In the second and third numbers the idea of Evangelical Catholicism was defined. It is a new phrase, but indicates the two elements needed in modern religious life. The reformers, says Muhlenberg, did not aim to found a new un-catholic church, although they felt obliged to reject what had been once a convenient but was never an essential test of catholicism, namely communion with the bishop of Rome. Their new contribution was the re-emphasis on the dogmatic authority of the Bible: speaking for himself and those who would agree with him, Muhlenberg writes:

Thus we stand in the bosom of the Church, the historical Congregation of Christ's People, and explicitly avow our faith, that the teachings of the Bible are alone under God her hope, as well as the ground of all ability to perform the work committed to her.<sup>27</sup>

The catholic principle, he further expounds, is expressed in emphasis on Christianity as found in the life of the Church with its institutions and sacraments ordained by Christ. This is the family of God, the universal brotherhood; its universality must not be obscured either by the papal attempt to turn it into an empire, or by the protestant tendency to divide it into a group of national Churches. The Word of God must therefore be preached in its fullness as well as the sacraments administered, and this is the balancing evangelical principle. The relation of the two is intimate. The Bible must be understood in its historical origin, not "as a stray sybilline leaf," which is the basis of sectarianism. It is the Church's book. On the other hand, the Church must proclaim the message of the Bible if she is to live. If the two principles

be united in that living marriage which God ordains, and whereby He works out His plans in the world, we shall have a church which, while it preserves in loving faith the past institutions of the Redeemer, finds in the Word of God a present living rule of action and faith, whereby her divinely ordained character and mission shall be known and read of all men.<sup>28</sup>

After sixteen months as a biweekly or monthly publication, the *Evangelical Catholic* began its second volume in January, 1853, as a weekly. It now included each week a directory of daily services in New

<sup>27</sup>*Evangelical Catholic*, vol. 1, September 27, 1851, pp. 9-10.

<sup>28</sup>*Ibid.*, vol. i, October 11, 1851, pp. 17-18.

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York (as did the *Churchman*), and started to give general church news, especially of the diocese of New York. The second volume continued the interest of the earlier numbers in social conditions and in efforts to meet the social problems of the day—one notes, besides continuing publicity for St. Luke's, an announcement of the formation of the Children's Aid Society and the annual report of the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor.<sup>29</sup> More space than before is given to the expression of a desire for greater flexibility and variety in the services of the Church. The daily offices in Lent, for instance, should have a more penitential note than at other times, and the lesson should be better chosen. An appendix of permitted variations in the Prayer Book is suggested as a desirable means of progress. A correspondent reported from a small church in Michigan the practice of using the ante-communion as a separate evening service during Holy Week, an experiment which Muhlenberg was glad to endorse as showing the usefulness of separating the services as well as the need for more appropriate services during Lent.<sup>30</sup>

In the numbers for October and November, 1852, Muhlenberg had attempted a second definition of evangelical catholicism, which seems to put it rather more in the protestant and less in the catholic orbit, as those terms are usually understood.<sup>31</sup> "In common with all churchmen, we profess to be Catholics," being members of the visible Church founded by Christ and holding the faith of the Catholic creeds. Protestants did not renounce catholicism in protesting against Rome, but they seem to have lost interest in the church idea. However

There are signs among Protestants of a longing for an outward Catholicity, which shall express and give effect to their agreement in those cardinal articles of the Fathers, which are the main element in Catholicism. In testimony of this, they should persist in calling themselves Catholics. On no account should the name be surrendered (as it now so generally is) to those who claim it exclusively for themselves.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>29</sup>*Evangelical Catholic*, vol. ii, pp. 87, 366. Volume ii begins in October, 1852, but returns to p. 1 at the beginning of January, 1853.

<sup>30</sup>*Ibid.*, vol. ii, pp. 60-61, 70-71, 85-86, 92-93.

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*, vol. ii, October 2, 1852, pp. 1-2; November 6, pp. 23-24; reprinted in part in Ayres, *Muhlenberg*, pp. 237-248.

<sup>32</sup>Note for comparison Adrian Fortescue's observation, with reference to the Eastern Orthodox, that "Of course they think that they are really Catholics too; so do all Christians" (*The Orthodox Eastern Church*, London, 1907, p. vii) and N. P. Williams' at the Anglo-Catholic Congress of 1933, "If the heart of the Catholic faith consists in the doctrines of the Holy Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Atonement, we must scrupulously avoid that rather provincial and sectarian misuse of the great word 'Catholic' which restricts it to ecclesiastical and sacramental doctrine, and by implication labels the foundation truths of the gospel as 'merely Christian'." (*Report of the Oxford Movement Centenary Congress*, July, 1933, London, n. d., p. 100.)

Protestant Catholic would be a proper term; but it is clearer to emphasize the ultimate basis of the protest, namely the Gospel. The Catholic Church is the body of baptized believers, and nothing should be considered necessary to orthodoxy or required as essential beyond what is clearly stated in our baptismal confession, the Apostles' Creed.

### III

Such were the principles and the interests of W. A. Muhlenberg when he launched the memorial movement. The only account of its actual inauguration is given by the Rev. Edwin Harwood, who in 1852 was associated with Dr. Muhlenberg in the editing of the *Evangelical Catholic* and was priest in charge of the mission chapel which in that year became a parish as the Church of the Incarnation. Muhlenberg felt strongly that the Episcopal Church was not truly catholic in its ministry to the American people. Neither its services nor its general system made possible for it a really broad appeal—we were “content to say, day after day, year in and year out, ‘Dearly beloved Brethren,’ to bare walls and empty seats.” Moreover it was isolated, and “effort should be made to bring the christians of this land into something like fellowship, on the basis of a common historic faith.” So he proposed to a friend (probably Harwood), “Let us prepare a memorial upon this subject to the house of bishops, and if we can get no one to sign it, we will sign it ourselves and send it in.” So the memorial was drafted, and most of those who were asked to sign it were glad to do so.<sup>33</sup>

In the House of Bishops the memorial received, as Harwood puts it, “many expressions of generous sympathy.” As later events showed, its author had judged correctly in addressing himself to the house which contained more pastors and fewer lawyers. Unfortunately, the secrecy of the House of Bishops in those days has prevented any record of who the generous sympathizers were. Bishop Burgess of Maine moved reference of the memorial to a special commission of five. The house adjourned while still engaged with this motion; the next morning, October 19th, it was “laid on the table for the present.” On the 25th it was taken from the table and passed. The vote was 20-4, Meade, Delancey, Eastburn and Freeman in the negative. A proposal for adding a prayer for the increase of the ministry to the Prayer Book, which had come from the House of Deputies and had been sponsored by Bishop Potter in the House of Bishops, was referred to the same commission. That evening, the presiding bishop (Brownell) announced its appoint-

<sup>33</sup>In *Memory of William Augustus Muhlenberg, D.D., LL.D., A Discourse by Edwin Harwood, D.D., and a Poem by George D. Wildes, D.D.*, New York, 1877, pp. 22-23, cited in part in Ayres, *Muhlenberg*, pp. 268-269.

ment of Bishops Otey (Tennessee), Potter (Pennsylvania), Burgess, Williams (assistant, Connecticut), and Wainwright (provisional, New York). The next morning, the last day of the session, some feeling seemed to have risen as to the personnel of the commission—probably it was considered too predominantly made up of supporters of the memorial. Bishop Freeman moved that two members be added; this was lost, but the house voted to add the bishop of New Jersey (Doane).<sup>34</sup> The memorial thus passed into the hands of a commission of six.

Although the sessions of the House of Bishops were secret, rumors of what they were discussing did get out. As a speaker observed in the House of Deputies in 1856, two old gentlemen might have kept a secret, but this was not to be expected of thirty old gentlemen.<sup>35</sup> Doubtless Dr. Muhlenberg and the other memorialists had not concealed from their friends the general purport of what they were proposing, and it soon began to be rumored that something radical had been put forward. The *Evangelical Churchman* noted on October 27th that General Convention had adjourned "after an unusually long, but equally peaceable and harmonious session" (as Phillips Brooks remarked some years later, when an ecclesiastical convention does nothing in particular, people comment on the wonderful harmony that prevailed). Its editorial opinion about the formal actions of the session was confined to the oracular remark that

Though always an eminently conservative body, measures at this session were adopted, showing how much it can also be actuated by the spirit of progress.

A following article reprinted parts of the *Hints on Catholic Unity* of 1836, and asked whether now was not the time for the bishops to start acting in their capacity as catholic bishops as well as within the Episcopal Church, and to begin ordaining ministers of Christ at large as well as Episcopalian clergy.

The above is no speculative question. It is one of supremely practical moment, and the time has now come for its discussion. In substance it lies at the bottom of a memorial on the subject of Church extension on catholic principles, presented to the House of Bishops, and referred to a commission of seven [*sic*] of their number, to report at the next General Convention. We hope to be allowed to give the memorial in our next.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>34</sup>*General Convention Journal*, 1853, pp. 183-4, 216, 231-2.

<sup>35</sup>The Rev. P. Trapier, on a proposal to make the sessions public by constitutional enactment: *Churchman*, vol. 26, October 7, 1856, p. 262.

<sup>36</sup>*Evangelical Catholic*, vol. ii, October 27, 1853, pp. 348-350.



This was not done, however, on the ground that the memorial would not properly become public until the convention journal was issued. However, its sense was known, and people began to oppose it. One opponent was the Rev. J. C. Tracey, rector of St. Timothy's, who promptly resigned as associate editor of the *Evangelical Catholic*, "as this paper is committed to support of the Memorial on Church Extension."<sup>87</sup>

With the end of the year, however, the publication itself came to an end—whether because its support was threatened, or because the conduct of a general church paper involved too many activities distinct from Dr. Muhlenberg's special interests we cannot now determine. In any case, he had made his position known, and the general discussion to which the memorial gave rise as soon as it was made public served to ventilate his ideas. The *Church Review* for January, 1854, in an article on the recent general convention, opened its comments on the memorial with the words, "we are ourselves disposed to be cheered by a circumstance that has caused alarm in some quarters." It notes with pleasure that the memorial has drawn together "several well-known Presbyters, representing very different schools of Theology." It concludes that they all desire a consideration of possible means of increasing the efficiency of the Church, and of promoting unity among Christians, and that objections to the specific proposals are not a reason for deploring the memorial itself. It is pleased that only four bishops opposed appointing the commission (though New Jersey has "declared that he would have voted in the negative, had he been present"). The expression of good-will towards others is good in itself. Perhaps rather smugly the comment terminates:

we trust, that ere long, our separate fellow Christians throughout the land may be stirred by the news that our Bishops are sitting in formal consultation on the promotion of unity among Protestants—that the Church, by deeds as well as words, is calling God to witness, how greatly she longs after all those who are not yet partakers in her blessings.<sup>88</sup>

Some alarm, some sympathy, and a certain amount of puzzlement seems to have been the reaction of the church public. The commission of bishops provided a center for this discussion, and to their proceedings we may turn for a summary of it.

The commission held its first meeting in New York on June 29, 1854, and showed itself resolved to take its task seriously and to in-

<sup>87</sup>*Evangelical Catholic*, vol. ii, November 3, 1853, p. 356; November 17, p. 373.

<sup>88</sup>"The Late General Convention", in *Church Review*, vol. vi, January, 1854, pp. 567-590; ; pp. 588-590.

terpret it rather broadly. Professor Johnson was appointed as secretary, and in the course of a session of several days a questionnaire was drawn up which was circulated to the bishops and others. The accompanying circular noted that

Your answer to any or all of these questions in detail, and your views generally of the best means of enlarging the efficiency of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and also of promoting unity among Christians, will greatly oblige the undersigned; and they would respectfully request that it may be sent in at your earliest convenience.<sup>39</sup>

The questions showed that the bishops had given their own interpretation to the subject of the memorial. One section dealt with possible improvements in the ministry of the Episcopal Church: can its training be bettered—the character of preaching changed, or other methods of instruction employed—how can the unchurched be reached—besides settled pastors, should we have itinerating evangelists, permanent deacons, and perhaps a special class of learned clergy—should we improve educational methods—open our town churches more often on Sundays—how can we increase (“safely”) the coöperation of the laity in “the work of winning souls”—promote “brotherly intercourse among our members,” appeal to young men and influence business men, obtain sufficient contributions for home evangelism—“do we instruct our people sufficiently in the dangers and responsibilities involved in the possession of property?” Section II was more closely related to the specific proposals of the memorial: are alterations in our service desirable—relaxations in the conclusions of admission to orders—

4. Are there any facts known to you indicating a preference, on the part of ministers of other Protestant bodies, for Episcopal ordination, if it were in their power?

are the members of such bodies willing “to make any sacrifices of sectarian feeling for the sake of restoring unity?—

6. Are our liturgical services, and the discretion accorded to our several Dioceses, as free as they were in the early church?

finally, should the Church make better provision for training teachers, nurses, etc., and better use of “its female members who have leisure and inclination for benevolent labours?”<sup>40</sup>

<sup>39</sup>Alonzo Potter, ed., *Memorial Papers*, Philadelphia, 1857, pp. 35-36.

<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 35-40.



Bishop Otey, as the senior, was chairman, but Alonzo Potter was definitely the leading spirit of the commission. We owe to him the publication of a record of its labors in the *Memorial Papers* issued in 1857, together with a selection from the replies to the questionnaire. The general character of the latter can be summarized as follows. Evangelicals and tractarians alike seem usually to seize on practical proposals for reforming the worship or improving the work of the Church, and rather ignore the broader aspects of the memorial. These are of more interest to the high churchmen of the older school, who are scandalized, and to more average churchmen, who are puzzled by all the sound and fury, but agree that a few improvements in the Prayer Book would be desirable. Only a few writers gave definite support to Muhlenberg's central ideas, and most of them with an emphasis somewhat different from his. A few illustrations will support this summary. Bishop Meade confined himself to proposed Prayer Book simplifications, including permission to omit "this child is regenerate at Baptism," of which phrase he writes:

I believe nothing stands more in the way of converts from other denominations, and especially such of their ministers as are worth having, than the required use of these words in the Baptismal service.<sup>41</sup>

Bishop Polk supported the shortening of services, and the admission of some less educated men to the ministry. Dr. Lewis, of Holy Trinity, Brooklyn, endorsed the idea of permanent deacons, to assist at the communion, superintend Sunday Schools, etc. He would favor the shortening of services, and easier admission of candidates from other ministries to ours—this would not break down our principles, since

such converts are apt to be more zealous for them than old Churchmen. I have always cautioned such persons against extreme churchmanship.

He is rather opposed to theological seminaries, thinking college graduates had better have a practical training under clergy engaged in the active ministry. Seminaries tend to promote an abstract interest in controversies, and a partisan spirit—

Give to one man whatever text you will, he leads you to man's depravity and justification by faith, while another on the same text will bring in the Church, the Ministry, the Sacraments. Now if theology were learned in connection with visits among Sabbath-breakers, drunkards, lovers of pleasure,

<sup>41</sup>Alonzo Potter, ed., *Memorial Papers*, Philadelphia, 1857.

errorists of all sorts, the real necessities of men would be forced upon the attention, and the Gospel remedy brought to mind, and instead of systems we should have wants met by the Gospel of Christ.

There were, he notes, schools of the prophets in Israel, "but the young men accompanied the Prophets in their labors and visits through the land," and similarly Timothy learned his theology while traveling with St. Paul. Dr. Trapier, of Charleston, on the other hand, wanted more scholarship in the seminaries, so that our clergy might be as learned as the English, and chaplains to develop the religious life of the students, and in the parishes a great increase of evangelistic activity.<sup>42</sup>

This may represent the evangelical reaction. From a tractarian, or at least a tractarian sympathizer, we have Dr. (afterwards bishop) Odenheimer's brisk replies to the questionnaire. He would have no liturgical changes, except division of the services, and no relaxation of the requirements for ordination; but a great increase in systematic lay and clerical evangelistic activity and an improvement in the methods of instruction and preaching is desirable. The Rev. J. E. Young, assistant at Trinity Church, New York, submitted an elaborate scheme of revision of the daily offices, with appendices of extracts from the Sarum rite and the liturgy of St. Chrysostom.<sup>43</sup>

The kindly but cautious Dr. Berrian, Hobart's successor as rector of Trinity, was one of the most conspicuous members of the old high church school. When he at last read the memorial on July 1, 1854, it seems to have filled him with terror—to use his own words

with the most profound sorrow, with the keenest apprehension for the future, and a trembling anxiety, from which I had hoped to be spared on the verge of the grave. And I feel this all the more, because so much weight has been given to the Memorial by the high character, the devout wishes, and expansive benevolence of those who are foremost in the work.

Who is to watch over the mixed multitude on whom it is proposed to bestow holy orders? No one can have a higher idea than he does of "the necessity of a valid ordination." But it is only one

of the marked features and great truths of the Church, which, in my opinion, is of little avail, unless it be connected with the whole truth in its fullness and integrity.

Variations in the liturgy also would only open the way to discord

<sup>42</sup>Alonzo Potter, ed., *Memorial Papers*, Philadelphia, 1857, pp. 153-168, 261-273, 297-322.

<sup>43</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 290-296, 332-416.

and confusion, and Berrian cannot but think that Muhlenberg's "unbounded benevolence has warped and overruled his judgment in this grave and important movement." When it came to the details raised by the bishops, however, Berrian was desirous to see the Church more efficient, and willing to contemplate some liturgical reform. But the requirements for admission to the ministry should if anything be made

Will the Right Reverend Fathers excuse me for the utterance of feelings which I am unable to repress? The bare proposal of the question, the entertainment of the thought, that unity in the worship of the Church, conformity to its discipline, and agreement in other matters not specifically named, may be dispensed with in any degree, fills me with inexpressible grief and pain. And all this for the furtherance of the most doubtful measures and dangerous experiments which were ever conceived; to allure men to the Ministry of our Church who have no cordial and unreserved attachment to her; to increase her numbers and weaken her strength; to add to the troubles which already distract her, to the questions which perplex her, to the griefs which afflict her, and to the shame with which these divisions cover her. May God defend us from the evils which I so anxiously fear!<sup>44</sup>

This reaction was shared by others, although not always with the note of distress which marked Dr. Berrian's memorandum. Among those whose replies were published in *Memorial Papers* Bishops Freeman, of Arkansas, and Scott, of Oregon, took a similar line, the latter observing that

The suggestion for uniting the Protestant denominations, or increasing our ministry, by ordaining those who at the same time decline to unite cordially with us in the general system of discipline and worship, seems to me entirely inadmissible.

Bishop Upfold, of Indiana, repudiated the insinuation that the Church was unable to do her work properly; on the contrary, he considered her growth phenomenal, and mainly due to strict adherence to her own system. Still he admits that there is room for better preaching and teaching, and would be willing to allow domestic missionaries to use abridgements or adaptations of the Prayer Book until their congregations were ready for the latter.<sup>45</sup> Similar communications came from Dr. Craik, of Louisville, and Dr. Croswell, of Hartford.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>44</sup>William Berrian, *To the Commission of Bishops on the Memorial of the Rev. Dr. Muhlenburgh* (sic), New York, 1854 (For private distribution.)

<sup>45</sup>*Memorial Papers*, pp. 161-219.

<sup>46</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 231-245.

Curiously enough, the signers of the memorial were by no means unanimous in supporting its particular ideas in their replies to the bishops. In some cases their signatures can only have expressed general sympathy with Dr. Muhlenberg's spirit rather than detailed approval of his ideas. Henry Gregory wrote that, after all, a new spirit was needed rather than new mechanics;

We are very *Apostolic* in books and on paper. If we were a little more Apostolic in religious earnestness, self-denial, good works, and concern for the salvation of our fellow men, I think the Memorial would be answered. My hope has been, and my prayer is, that *this* may be its result.

Dr. Howe, on the contrary, felt that we failed to reach the working classes to an extent which showed that there must be something wrong with our system. He believes that we need more popular services, and a special class of evangelistic clergy, and should make some approach to unity by making what we have to offer more easily available to others, even if they should turn out not to want it at present. Details he leaves to the wisdom of the bishops; but he hopes that they will recommend the diocesans to set forth special services adapted to the needs of various times and places.<sup>47</sup> The signers of the postscript had not committed themselves to any particular proposal. But one of them, Dr. Vinton, of Brooklyn, specially urged the proposal that the bishops be allowed to ordain for other churches as well as our own. The Church would continue as at present, but

I would admit ministers to the true Apostolic ministry, and let them serve congregations such as the Methodists and Presbyterians, &c. And I have such faith in the utility of a Liturgy, as to believe that its necessity and expediency would assert themselves. . . .

What causes the schism in the One Body of Christ? I answer: the want of ordination among the *ministers* of the sects; and the want of confirmation by Apostolic hands among the members of the same.

Give Bishops, Priests, and Deacons to those sectarian denominations, and the schism in Christ's Body is at once healed. I say nothing of baptism, leaving lay baptism in its *mooted* position. But ordain the ministers according to the Memorial, and lay baptism ceases, or nearly so.<sup>48</sup>

Bishop Potter, on his own responsibility, corresponded with several divines of the other Churches whom we were talking about, and received interesting if not decisive replies. "A Venerable Divine of

<sup>47</sup>*Memorial Papers*, pp. 250-260.

<sup>48</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 329-331.

the Presbyterian Church" expressed general sympathy, and a Congregationalist and a Baptist endorsed the idea of a less learned evangelistic ministry. A German Reformed divine observed that it would be useful for his Church to become more liturgical and ours more free. A Methodist seconded his views, and added that the Episcopal Church might become the center of unity among the reformed churches, if only she would

while she prefers and holds as of best authority and most efficient, her own ordination and orders of the ministry, accept and respect the validity of the ministries in the other Protestant Churches.<sup>49</sup>

#### IV

With the opening of the general discussion, of which the replies to the bishops seem to be a fair sample, the memorial movement had passed out of Dr. Muhlenberg's hands. Nevertheless, the 90-page *Exposition of the Memorial* which he issued in November, 1854, was of importance as a formal public statement of what he hoped from it. Its ideas were similar to those he had expressed before. Neither our preaching nor our services reach the masses, and we should endeavor to correct that defect. Muhlenberg does not think much of creating a class of semi-clergy in our own fold, but again urges the bestowal of orders outside. The requirements he suggests are acceptance of the Scriptures, the creeds, the two sacraments, and "the doctrines of grace" substantially as in the XXXIX Articles—agreement to use the Lord's Prayer, read from the Scriptures, and follow a few other points in stated Sunday worship, and to use unvarying forms in the essentials of the sacraments, similar to those in the Prayer Book—and to report to the bishop or some "approved ecclesiastical tribunal" at least once in three years.<sup>50</sup> In answer to various objections he argues as follows: Are there any who want orders on such terms? Let us try the experiment and we shall see. Our bishops are busy already. "Episcopal orders given on primitive terms will lead to dioceses of the primitive size." Can the bishops be trusted to exercise so much discretion? Perhaps there had better be a standing commission to deal with "Episcopal action beyond our Church" and engage in communications "touching the great subjects of unity and inter-communion among orthodox Protestants." Hadn't we better stay in our safe middle position be-

<sup>49</sup>*Memorial Papers*, pp. 417-448.

<sup>50</sup>*An Exposition of the Memorial of Sundry Presbyters*, 1854, reprinted in *Evangelical Catholic Papers*, pp. 77-198; pp. 85-143; the similarity to the "Congregational Concordat" and Canon 11 of 1922 is interesting.



tween Rome and Geneva? No, let us rather coöperate with the true heirs of the Reformers, though we are nearer Rome than "the Genevan theology of the present day, in its rationalistic, deistic, and subtle atheistic forms." Will this piece of machinery promote true unity? This leads into a final appeal to make the trial at being, as Muhlenberg understood it, truly evangelical and catholic. An appendix noted in detail the rigidity of the service as it then stood, with "Dearly beloved brethren" every morning and evening, few prayers for special needs, and little adaptation to seasons, and renewed the plea for episcopal freedom. The last page carried the prayer for unity from the English Prayer Book ("O God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ"; 1928 Prayer Book, pp. 37-38).<sup>51</sup>

So the discussion continued through 1855. Several pamphlets of that year are of considerable interest. The Rev. Edward A. Washburn, who had succeeded Coxe at St. John's, Hartford, came forward in support of the memorial with *The Catholic Work of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America. A Contribution to the Cause of the Memorial*.<sup>52</sup> A catholic Church in America should make a universal appeal. It should manifest its changeless unity, expressed in the great institutions of sacraments, ministry, scripture, and creeds (is this listing the ultimate origin of the Lambeth Quadrilateral?), and express it in action adapted to the manifold needs of the time. In theory we are such a Church; in practice we are a respectable sect. Our liturgy has rich treasures of devotion—and, therefore, we should not insist on displaying them all on every occasion, since even treasures may cloy. Still more in our missionary efforts:

Imagine St. Paul in cassock and surplice haranguing the crowd of Athens or Lystra; in every discourse, at every fresh station, beginning with his "dearly beloved brethren"; reading Venite and Te Deum when he found no music; making his own responses, and so through Litany and Ante-Communion, service on service, Ossa on Pelion, before he could speak one hearty word of the Kingdom of God.

Certainly we must improve our methods. He hopes that some simple way of adapting services can be found; the proposal for ordinations with fewer restrictions at least deserves consideration. But let us in any case be willing to move, and not content simply to oppose change, whether on high church or low church grounds. Washburn criticizes both evangelicals and anglo-catholics for narrowly giving to a

<sup>51</sup>*An Exposition of the Memorial of Sunday Presbyters*, 1854, pp. 144-197.

<sup>52</sup>*New York*, 1855.

party treasures which were meant for the Church, and declares that his own plea is not for less catholicism, but for more.

Another critic, friendly on the whole, is "Catholicus," who addressed *A Few Thoughts* to the commission of bishops in reply to their circular. We certainly need much more use of the laity and a more efficient clergy (I suspect the author of being a learned layman). Our usual service is too long for almost everyone; and there is ample precedent for division and free use of its various parts. There might be some place for extempore prayer—the author cites the sad case of a man who wished to return thanks for being rescued after falling off a wharf, and whose rector could find nothing more appropriate than the thanksgiving for a safe return from sea. But be that as it may, let us at least agree in making quietly the changes which even Dr. Berrian considers advisable. As to the broader proposals of the memorial, Catholicus suggests that it will be sufficient if we agree that outside the bounds of our Church clergy and laity may work for the Lord in any way they please, as long as they keep clear of heresy and vice. Catholicus would claim freedom for presbyters and laity as well as for bishops, and points out in conclusion that the unity of the Church is not blank uniformity but a varied harmony, like that of nature.<sup>53</sup>

A less friendly commentator than these discussed "The Memorial and Its Exposition" in the *Episcopal Quarterly Review* for April, 1855.<sup>54</sup> The writer agreed with the memorialists in favoring union with Protestants against Rome and an adaptation of our methods to American needs, a summary of the memorial which its author might have demurred to. But it fails to recognize the real reason why the Episcopal Church has not continued its great growth of the 1830's. This, as the "amiable rector" of the Church of the Holy Communion ought to recognize, is the malignant influence of tractarianism, which has prejudiced Americans against the Church by introducing such Roman practices as praying towards the east wall. Could an unsophisticated visitor distinguish Muhlenberg's services from those of the Roman Church? What we need is sound evangelical preaching—simply "repent and believe," not all this crying up of religious practices. Such preaching has always been heard with joy, in the ancient, papal, or protestant churches. This is what men want, and we hope the bishops will take steps to encourage it. Some of the proposals of the memorial might help. After reading the *Exposition* the writer saw no reason to change his views. He agrees that more flexibility in mission services

<sup>53</sup>*A Few Thoughts on the Duties, Difficulties, and Relations of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States*, New York, 1855.

<sup>54</sup>Reprinted as *The Proposed Reform of the Episcopal Church*, New York, 1855.

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is desirable; but this, as well as any episcopal activity outside our pale, should receive formal constitutional sanction—our bishops, he holds, have no independent powers, but only what the Church gives them. And he still regrets that one who writes so well should flirt so much with tractarianism in matters of worship and parish organization, since he does not believe

that our Church can ever prosper in this country till she is purged of Tractarianism, and blessed with preachers of evangelical religion.

Meanwhile the commission was starting to prepare its report. Bishop Wainwright's death in October, 1854, reduced it to the original number of five, and in the spring of 1855 Professor Johnson was succeeded as secretary by the Rev. Daniel Kendig, of Chester, Pennsylvania. Each bishop except the chairman was assigned to write a memorandum on one section of the questionnaire, with the aid of such wisdom as the replies to it and the general discussion had brought forth. Bishop Doane dealt with the education of both laity and clergy; as might be expected from an original opponent of the memorial, he endorsed no innovations, but wrote well in defense of the normal system of natural growth in the Church. Bishop Potter felt that the requirements for ordination required some adaptation to circumstances. As to the broader proposal he did not suggest immediate action, but argued that a less exclusive spirit would enable us in time to serve as a center of unity:

If ever Christians are to be brought into one fold, it will not be through a policy like that of Rome, which demands that all concessions shall be made by others, none by ourselves . . . Is it nothing that almost every other Protestant Communion is now moving towards some system of prescript prayer? Is it nothing that our polity so conservative; our worship so chaste and yet so fervent . . . our discipline so gentle and yet so decided; our system of Christians nurture so fitted to rear up a nation of Christian men and women . . . that all this—amidst the din of strife, and the confusion of change,—is getting every day to be better understood and more thoroughly appreciated? And why? Is it not that the Episcopalians of this day may arise and quit themselves like men? Is it not that we should bear continually in mind that to whom much is given, of them will much be required?

Bishop Burgess produced an interesting essay on the principles of liturgical revision, and noted the general desire and the reasonable argu-

ments for shortening the services, revising the lectionary, and adding a greater variety of canticles and prayers. Rather amusingly, he points out that canon 45 of 1832 only limited the clergy strictly to the Prayer Book before sermons, leaving them by implication some liberty afterwards. Bishop Williams offered some notes on the more efficient organization of the work of the clergy. He was prepared to argue that the limitations placed on the Episcopal Church were not a sign of mere sectarianism, but part of its true catholicity and "rendered necessary by the abnormal condition of Christendom." But he abstained from developing this theme.<sup>55</sup>

These proceedings were as yet private, and as the convention of 1856 approached, the explanations and attacks continued. Several diocesan conventions discussed the memorial, with no decisive result. As clear a note as any was struck by Bishop Chase, of New Hampshire, who observed in his convention address that the Church certainly needed some changes, and he, for one, would consider on its merits any proposal that might be advanced.<sup>56</sup> It was becoming clear that the desirability of some adaptation in the services of the Church was the only point raised by the memorial which had found anything like general support. This was agreed to on all sides, if for no other reason than the need of conserving the health of the clergy, as to which a priest of South Carolina wrote to a lay delegate from that diocese:

There is throughout the Church, a settled persuasion that the morning service is longer than the physical powers and animal spirits of most of the clergy can render edifying, and that full and clear license ought to be had for shortening it.<sup>57</sup>

One finds a certain note of sadness in the reduced proposals which Muhlenberg put forth in a public letter to Bishop Otey, published under the title, *What the Memorialists Want*.<sup>58</sup> Inside the Episcopal Church they ask only for an amendment of canon 45 of 1832, to allow the use of additional prayers in the Prayer Book service, and to limit the strict requirement of the Prayer Book service to organized congregations—and a permission to bishops to grant certain dispensations in morning and evening prayer. The need of special prayers is again put cogently. There were prayers in time of famine, but not in time of unemployment; prayers for voyagers by sea, but none for the equal danger which might accompany journeys by land. Surely the Prayer Book teaches

<sup>55</sup>*Memorial Papers*, pp. 83-150.

<sup>56</sup>*Ibid.*, p. vi, quotes resolutions from Rhode Island and Pennsylvania recommending serious consideration; Bishop Chase in *New Hampshire Convention Journal*, 1856, pp. 18-20.

<sup>57</sup>W. H. Barnwell, *To the Honorable F. W. Allston*, privately printed, 1856.

<sup>58</sup>New York, 1856; reprinted in *Evangelical Catholic Papers*, vol. i, pp. 199-286.

us the spirit of our prayers, but does not claim to provide for all conceivable occasions. For the fuller recognition of the church year Muhlenberg suggests desirable variations in the offices almost identical with those at which our present Prayer Book has arrived. As to the need of greater freedom for missionaries, he quotes the experience of one "who spent a part of his life and nearly the whole of his fortune in planting the church in the West" (probably S. R. Johnson, who worked for some years under Bishop Kemper in Indiana):

The missionary bishop and he would go to places and advertise public worship in a court-house or school-room, where the bishop and he would conduct the service according to canon and rubric with not a voice in the congregation but their own; while perhaps in the same places, the Roman bishop would come along, call the people together, begin at once with a familiar address, and end with short prayer. Which left the most favorable impression on the people's mind; which pursued the better policy for his own church?

So much, he hopes, will be allowed. As to the larger proposal, he is distressed that it has been met with so little sympathy. Those of the memorialists for whom he speaks would now reduce it to the appointment of a "Permanent Commission on Church Unity," to consider measures bearing on that topic and to be an organ of communication with "all bodies and individuals adhering to the Catholic faith, with whom it may be deemed advisable to hold communication." In a "Post-script to the Clergy" he argues that this proposal should be equally welcome to the high church and low church groups—to the latter as an approach to the protestants with whom they profess sympathy, to the former as an attempt to make available to all the order which they consider essential. This pamphlet was shortly backed up by two briefer ones, in which the proposals were listed as four:

1. Repeal of the absolute limitation of the 45th canon.
2. Limitation of the canon itself to established congregations.
3. Episcopal authorization of services more adapted to the church year.
4. The appointment of an Episcopal commission on Church unity.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>50</sup>*What the Memorialists Do Not Want, and Further Communication on the Memorial*, reprinted in *Evangelical Catholic Papers*, vol. i, pp. 287-326.

## V

The eve of the convention brought further blasts from several quarters. A *Counter Memorial* from a Maryland clergyman asked for an affirmation of the strictest Anglican standards of doctrine and discipline, and, as a forward step, the division of the larger dioceses.<sup>60</sup> "A Southern Presbyterian" traversed the views advanced by "Catholicus" and Dr. Muhlenberg, and presented with considerable good nature the case for making the most of the Episcopal Church as already existing. Let the clergy be better pastors, and the laity more truly benevolent, let services be somewhat improved, and all would find enough chance of usefulness.<sup>61</sup>

A. C. Coxe, now at Grace Church, Baltimore, took pen in hand in September to write on behalf of the signers of the postscript to the memorial. Most of them, he declared, were satisfied to see that the important questions which the commission's questionnaire had brought forward were being discussed. He would like to see Prayer Book revision taken in hand, and, more immediately, a supplement to the Prayer Book prepared. He welcomed all proposals for the greater use of the laity; their efforts might be recognized by making them lay readers, permanent deacons, sisters, etc. The subject of unity should be approached earnestly and charitably; he himself felt a special interest in the bodies of episcopal traditions, the Moravians and Swedes. Even the controversies raised had, he believed, turned men's minds in the right direction. His conclusion anticipates the common verdict of the Church's historians on the memorial movement:

It has infused a fresh and healthful life-blood into the veins of the Church. The miserable disputes and party lines that existed before 1853 have disappeared, and are obliterated. New thoughts and interests occupy the mind and heart of the earnest working members of our communion. With all that has been broached, whether crude or passionate, or foreboding and reactionary, it is evident that men's consciences are stirred within them, by a sense of great and absorbing interests which demand investigation and mastery. Under such impressions even sluggish spirits are waking up, and torpid energies are quickening into action. The zealous contribute their impulses, the timid advance with their alarms; the prudent interpose delays; and the truly wise and holy spirit of the Church composes the discordant elements, and educes a blessed result. He who despairs of final good to her sacred cause, must be a sceptic as to the soundness of her organization, or as to the existence of those divine influences which we believe have upheld her for ages.

<sup>60</sup> (C. M. Parkman) *A Counter Memorial*, Philadelphia, 1856.

<sup>61</sup> *The Memorial Viewed from a Different Standpoint from that Occupied by "One of their Number,"* Philadelphia, 1856.

He hopes the commission will be continued, to preside over further discussion of these important questions.<sup>62</sup>

Others had not yet risen to these heights of judiciousness, and continued to press for one extreme or the other. As the General Convention opened, the *Churchman* carried a letter from one of the signers. He declared that the memorialists did not ask for any change, amendment, or augmentation of the Prayer Book, or any reaffirmation of principles it already contained, still less for a reinterpretation of the system for which the Church stood. Of this he writes, "Its object was reformation, i. e., restoration of original truth; its spirit, evangelical freedom, its principles, the Bible." What they did want was the recognition of freedom where the Prayer Book said neither Yes nor No. As to this, "the Gospel sustains the Memorial, and that is enough." On the other side, the *Churchman's* correspondent reported, with somewhat premature triumph, that there need be no more concern about

the wild ideas connected with the Memorial, which can no longer be called unfortunate, since it begins to be understood that it will produce no effect upon the Church. It is, we believe, reduced to a certainty, that the Commission of Bishops will, very shortly, recommend that nothing shall be done. We may then hope that the wild schemes with which the matter has been connected will be forgotten, and that some future General Convention may be able to provide for such an amount of greater freedom to the Church as may be really proper, without the disturbing influence of such schemes as have been put forward under the cover of the extraordinary document of which we have been speaking.<sup>63</sup>

The convention opened on October 1 at St. Luke's, Philadelphia. After the opening service the bishops were too tired to do anything but meet and adjourn; but on the next two days the report of the commission on the memorial was submitted, among other business, and ordered printed.<sup>64</sup> This document, though signed by Bishop Otey as chairman, shows signs of the special interests of Bishop Potter. The discussion, it says, has at least shown that there is vitality in the Church. Descending to details, it submits that our liturgical services need modification for circumstances different from those which they contemplate as normal; and the clergy might do well to practice similar adaptation in their preaching. Both among clergy and among laity, more use should be made of special gifts. The abilities of the women of the Church should be better employed, and active "Christian Sisterhoods"

<sup>62</sup>"The Postscript to the Memorial," in *The Church Review*, vol. ix, October, 1856, pp. 415-438; Coxe mentions his authorship in *Memorial Papers*, p. 226.

<sup>63</sup>*Churchman*, vol. 26, September 25, 1856, p. 242; October 7, p. 263.

<sup>64</sup>*General Convention Journal*, 1856, pp. 156-159.



("the very opposite of the hermitage and the nunnery," since they would work for the world, not flee from it) are recommended in this connection. Greater interest in men and boys, and better support of the Church by the laity are also urged—the latter should facilitate the needed increase of the ministry. On the subject of Christian unity they recommend as the first and immediately practicable step a more charitable attitude towards other religious bodies—though they seem to contemplate that the immediate result of this will be the increase of the Episcopal Church. The liturgical changes generally desired could, they thought, be made without legislation by declaratory resolutions of the House of Bishops. They recommended four such: (1) Morning prayer may be used separately, and if three services are held the litany or ante-communion may be used in the afternoon and evening prayer in the evening. (2) The holy communion may be used separately, with a sermon, though "on the greater festivals it should in their judgment be preceded by the office of morning or evening prayer." (3) "On occasions or services other than regular morning and evening prayer, in established congregations" ministers may select from the Prayer Book and choose lessons *ad lib*. (4) Bishops may provide such special services as are required "by the peculiar spiritual necessities of any class or portion of the population." A fifth resolution proposed creating a commission on Church unity, to consist of five bishops. More formally, they recommended an amendment of canon 45 to allow the use of other "prayers, lessons, anthems, or hymns," than those in the Prayer Book, with episcopal approval. This, they pointed out, would bring it into harmony with canon 47, which allowed bishops to issue "forms of prayer or thanksgiving . . . for extraordinary occasions." A series of additional prayers and thanksgivings were submitted for consideration, mainly those which had been requested: prayers for unity and for the increase of the ministry, for missionaries, the young, and those exposed to special danger, and in time of public calamity—thanksgivings for deliverance from peril and from public calamities, and for the recovery of a sick child.<sup>85</sup>

The discussion in the House of Bishops was evidently animated, although the official secrecy of the house deprives us of any detailed report. The first two resolutions were fused into a declaratory one, that morning prayer, the litany, and the communion office are separate services and may be so used "as in former times . . . under the advice of the Bishop of the diocese." This was passed by 21-8, three absent bishops

<sup>85</sup>*General Convention Journal, 1856*, pp. 339-355; *Memorial Papers*, pp. 41-80; besides the prayer for unity (from the English Accession Service), this collection seems to be represented in our present Prayer Book by the opening phrases of the Ember Day collect, from the prayer for the increase of the ministry.



afterwards joining the majority. What now became the second resolution declared that "on special occasions, or at extraordinary services, not otherwise provided for" ministers might select from the Prayer Book and choose their own lessons. This was passed by 27-5 on October 15. DeLancey, Freeman, Whittingham, Upfold, and Horatio Potter formed the minority; Whittingham attempted to have his protest recorded in the journal of the house. On the last day of the session, October 21st, it was agreed to postpone consideration of the proposed additional prayers and the change in canon 45. A preamble and three more resolutions were passed. The third resolution declared the right of the bishops to provide special services for special groups, provided they did not replace the Prayer Book offices for those able to use them. The fourth created a commission on Church unity authorized to "communicate and receive information leading to that end," while the fifth restricted this commission by forbidding it "to mature plans of union with other Christian bodies, or to propound expositions of doctrine and discipline." Bishop DeLancey filed a protest against this final action, which had passed without a roll-call.<sup>66</sup>

## VI

With this action of the House of Bishops the formal consideration of the memorial came to an end. Slight as the action taken seems in retrospect, it seemed to many to be a daring move, or even a presumptuous one for the bishops to take by themselves. The House of Deputies had considered, but laid on the table, a resolution requesting to be informed of what the bishops were doing about the memorial.<sup>67</sup> This gave the opportunity for several speeches deploring any changes in the Prayer Book, or efforts of the bishops to legislate by interpretation. Dr. Francis Hawks, the Church historian, distinguished himself on the latter topic. He did have some case, since the second resolution came close to amending canon 45, which on the face of it was aimed to forbid the clergy ever to preach in public without first using a Prayer Book service. Even the *Churchman* did not agree with him, however, defending the right of the bishops to give advice or to interpret the Prayer Book, as they had done on various occasions before. After publishing the resolutions, however, it gave them only the most guarded approval.<sup>68</sup>

The bishops had granted most of Muhlenberg's immediate requests

<sup>66</sup>*General Convention Journal*, 1856, pp. 168-169, 175, 181-3, 203-4, 206.

<sup>67</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 151-152.

<sup>68</sup>*Churchman*, vol. 26, October 23, 1856, pp. 289, 291; October 30, p. 296.

but in a manner that suggested that they were terminating their treatment of the subject rather than preparing to carry it further. He himself did not continue his agitation of the matter. Perhaps he was abandoning, perhaps losing interest in the effort to promote the general acceptance of his ideas in the Episcopal Church. He gave one example, however, of the way that the episcopal resolutions might be made use of, in a Lenten service based on evensong, prepared for use at the Church of the Holy Communion in 1857.<sup>69</sup> On Ascension Day of that year the formal work of St. Luke's Hospital began with services in its chapel, the first part of the building to be opened, and from then on Dr. Muhlenberg's interests were centered there. Still, as Coxe observed in writing to Bishop Potter in December, the questions raised by the memorial were permanently before the Church—he had in mind particularly the liturgical ones, but it was true of others too.<sup>70</sup> In the following year Potter put the movement on record by publishing the *Memorial Papers*.

In the General Convention of 1859 the conservative spirit again came to the fore in the House of Deputies. On the ground that the resolutions of 1856 had "disturbed the minds of many in our Church," since their meaning and constitutionality were both doubtful, it was proposed to ask the bishops to reconsider and to make proposals in a form calling for joint action. On the twelfth day of the session, October 19th, the deputies defeated a motion to postpone this resolution, and then passed the resolution. The vote by orders was: clerical: 21 dioceses for, 9 against, 1 divided; lay: 15 dioceses for, 6 against. In the House of Bishops Bishop Otey proposed referring everything to a joint committee, but after some days the bishops replied instead that, in view of the considerable discussion which the memorial had already received, they saw no point in taking it up at this late date in the session.<sup>71</sup> The commission on Church unity had little to report except that they were pleased to find so much interest in the subject. They asked to be continued, but seem to have expired quietly with this convention.<sup>72</sup>

What did the memorial movement really achieve? One cannot read over these records of eight decades ago without feeling bound to come to some conclusion on this point. The present effort at a detailed survey has shown, I hope, what the confused battle was about. Substantially, I believe, it confirms the view taken by most of those who have written on the subject. The immediate results were disappointing, but nevertheless the interest roused by the memorial gave a new direction to

<sup>69</sup>*The Order of A Special Service for the Season of Lent, in the Church of The Holy Communion, with an Appendix for Private and Family Devotion*, New York, 1857.

<sup>70</sup>*Memorial Papers*, pp. 226-230.

<sup>71</sup>*General Convention Journal*, 1859, pp. 99-105, 143, 196, 215-217.

<sup>72</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 171, 383.

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the life of the Episcopal Church.<sup>73</sup> One may trace this even in the formal records of the General Convention of 1862, in which the circumstances of the Civil War did not prevent a whole series of topics relating to the practical progress of the Church from being brought forward. Liturgical reform and church unity have been before the Church ever since then. The Prayer Book of 1928 (and one might add, the hymnal of 1940 and the lectionary of 1943) is a fair expression of what Muhlenberg called for in the 1850's. Our movements toward church unity in the last generation have also been in accordance with his spirit, although I doubt if any one would now share his particular theological platform or his particular proposals. It is hard to say of the latter, indeed, whether they claimed too much or too little for the Episcopal Church. They rank Episcopalians among protestants, and call them catholic in a sense which applies to all orthodox protestantism. Yet they proceed as if we were surrounded by a mass of unorganized believers, and in plans for fellowship with protestants seem almost to ignore the existence of Protestant Churches. This is perhaps a specimen of the prevalent individualism of the day—one may contrast, for instance, the individual basis of the evangelical alliance with the churchly basis of our modern conferences and councils. But it gave a certain unreality to what was for Muhlenberg the most important part of his memorial. This doubtless accounted for the lack of response to that part of it. Rather amusingly, Bishop Potter was in this connection the innocent victim of a Presbyterian attack after the publication of *Memorial Papers*, which saw in the whole movement nothing but a piece of Episcopalian proselytizing.<sup>74</sup>

The last word in a discussion of the memorial movement should be devoted to its originator. Muhlenberg's greatness is clear enough, and its recognition does not require any concealment of his limitations. His was a valuable influence in the Episcopal Church just because he was constantly bringing new ideas into it from outside. His own sympathies were evangelical in both the general and the technical sense; and so he brought much into the Anglican tradition, which has closer contacts with ancient catholic and modern reformed Christianity. Morgan Dix, whose own memories went back to this period, summed it up in 1896:

Dr. Muhlenberg may be said to have had at heart two things above all others: the extension of charitable work among

<sup>73</sup>Cf. Harwood, *In Memory of W. A. Muhlenberg*, pp. 22-26; Ayres, *Muhlenberg*, pp. 260-274; Perry, *History of the American Episcopal Church*, vol. ii, pp. 292-299; W. W. Manross, "A Great Evangelical: Alonzo Potter," in *Historical Magazine*, vol. ix., 1940, pp. 126-127.

<sup>74</sup>*A Response to Bishop Potter*, Philadelphia, 1858.

the poor, and the restoration of visible unity among the Christian bodies around us and their unification in one Catholic Church . . . Dr. Muhlenberg loved the beautiful in the externals of religion; music, architecture, ceremonial, and all that makes divine worship impressive . . . There was much in all this to attract, delight, fascinate, the ardent souls of the young, who no doubt imagined beneath this exterior some things which did not exist. For to say that Dr. Muhlenberg had his limitations is to say what might be said of most great and holy men. His theology was rather of the Lutheran than the Anglican type. In his devotion to the cause of Christian unity he might perhaps have taken down some defences which to others appear necessary to the safety of our own church. Beautiful as was the order of the services, he stopped short of the sacramental system as taught by the Oxford school; and he had no sympathy with views in advance of the point which he had reached in working out his own parochial, liturgical, and charitable ideal.<sup>75</sup>

Muhlenberg's relation to Anglo-Catholicism is complex. He inaugurated many of its practical and liturgical expressions just at the moment when he was losing his sympathy with tractarian theology, and so occupies the curious double position of founder and opponent. His relation to broad churchmanship is no simpler. His willingness to move and to do new things separated him from old evangelicals as well as from old high churchmen. E. A. Washburn passed on from supporting the memorial to being one of the first prominent broad churchmen. But there is little trace of sympathy in Muhlenberg with the intellectual problems of the school. He never struggled with Calvinism, as some of the American broad churchmen did; and his liberality on matters of order did not indicate any lack of firmness in his loyalty to the doctrines of the creeds as he understood them. The "St. Johnland Directory" of 1871 carries on his ideas of liturgical reform, but it also contains a new clause for the litany:

From the teaching of unbelieving philosophy, from the misleadings of science, falsely so called, from presumption and irreverence toward Thy Holy Word—*Good Lord, deliver us.*<sup>76</sup>

Yet it must be noted that the *Evangelical Catholic* for 1853 reprinted a number of sermons by Maurice and Kingsley, and one of its last numbers quoted extensively from an article on Church parties in the *Edin-*

<sup>75</sup>Morgan Dix, *Harriet Starr Cannon*, pp. 18-20.

<sup>76</sup>*Directory in the Use of the Book of Common Prayer for the Church of the Testimony of Jesus, St. Johnland, L. I.*, in *Evangelical Catholic Papers*, vol. i, pp. 545-598; pp. 582-3.

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*burgh Review*, observing that the broad church as there described is "very much what we should be content to accept as an exhibition of Evangelical Catholicism."<sup>77</sup> Since the article in question is the first reference in the *New English Dictionary* for the application of the term to a group within the Church, Muhlenberg presumably introduced it to this country. It should be added that the broad church as there sketched was not quite what the term later suggested; it consisted of those who emphasized the central doctrines of the creed and joined the evangelicals in preaching faith and the tractarians in stressing good works and the visible Church, but neither in their anathemas. Muhlenberg is in a way the founder of social Christianity in our Church—he was apparently the first churchman to realize that the health as well as the morals of the New York slums was a matter of Christian concern. But here also his positive ideas were quite different from what developed later, as illustrated by his serious contention that the cluster of institutions at St. Johnland was a Christian reply to socialism.

A special treatise could be written on Anglican anti-romanism in the tractarian period. Evangelicals suspected romanizing on every hand, and high churchmen were anxious to clear themselves of the charge. The Roman danger is a recurrent theme in the literature of the memorial movement. But Muhlenberg's references are moderate compared with even the official language of the time. Few in our Church would write now as the bishops did in their pastoral letter of 1853:

We would hope that Romanism cannot long withstand even the popular influences of our country. Besotted ignorance cannot long prevail in a land of free schools. Servile superstition must gradually decline in a land of free inquiry. Priestcraft and imposture cannot long flourish in a land of newspapers. It should seem to be our wisdom, therefore, as well as our duty, to treat our less favoured brethren with kind consideration—to improve their temporal condition, to enlighten their minds, and to afford them the full benefit of all our free institutions.<sup>78</sup>

The act of deposition of Bishop Ives was not strong enough for Bishop Whittingham, who noted in his official journal

Joined in the solemn act of deposition of the late Rt. Rev. Levi Silliman Ives, an absconding and apostate delinquent . . .<sup>79</sup>

Such sentiments offer interesting parallels to contemporary anti-papal

<sup>77</sup>*Evangelical Catholic*, vol. ii, December 15, 1853, p. 405.

<sup>78</sup>*Pastoral Letter*, 1853, p. 12.

<sup>79</sup>W. F. Brand, *Life of William Rollinson Whittingham*, 2 vols., New York, 1886, vol. i, p. 450.

movements in England and America. They are quoted here to point the contrast with Muhlenberg, whose protestantism was definite, but nearly always graciously expressed.

Indeed, the gracious impress of his personality is the inevitable conclusion of any study of W. A. Muhlenberg. His ideas were sometimes wrong, sometimes misunderstood, sometimes far ahead of their time. He inspired many causes and contributed to all, but was never really a leader of a group because he was always unique. His own piety and character rose above all criticism, and he remains the greatest single figure in the history of the Episcopal Church in the nineteenth century, and one to whom the supporters of every form of our church life and organization must look back with grateful acknowledgment.



## EPISCOPAL ACADEMY OF CONNECTICUT

1794—1917

*By William A. Beardsley\**

**B**ETWEEN those dates lies the story of an educational institution, which, while general in the scope and character of its work, yet made a most valuable and timely contribution to the history of the Church in the early days of the nineteenth century, particularly in the diocese of Connecticut. Many of the clergy who helped to shape and guide the destinies of the Church in those formative days received a goodly portion, if not all, of their preparation for the ministry in this ancient school.

The colonial clergy who were left in Connecticut at the close of the Revolutionary War (there were fourteen)—upon whom rested the responsibility of laying the foundations of the Church, which, under the leadership of their recently consecrated bishop, they hoped to organize—rightly regarded as the great need of the moment the education of their children in the teaching and ways of the Church. To this end they felt the necessity of establishing an institution which would provide not only for their secular education, but their religious as well.

And beyond that they had in mind the preparation of their sons who might be led into the ministry. Their own experience would tell them of the value of proper preparedness for holy orders. They themselves were almost all educated men, that is, graduates of a college. More than two-thirds were graduates of Yale College. "It was a period of strong prejudice and no little intolerance." There was nothing strange in the fact that they wished their children to grow up in the more congenial atmosphere of the Church, and their sons seeking the ministry to be trained in the doctrines and practices which they were to represent and teach.

And so, aided and encouraged by Bishop Seabury, who was a man of scholarly tastes and attainments, they early began to plan for the establishment of an institution of learning within the bounds of Connecticut, "which should serve the double purpose of a preparatory school and a university."

\*The Rev. Dr. Beardsley is Historiographer of the Diocese of Connecticut.

What they had in mind, primarily, was a school under the influences of the Church for the education of their children, but the seminary idea was also in their minds. As a matter of fact, in the early days of the school's existence it did help to train young men for the ministry. If we compare the list of those ordained in the first three decades of the school's life, that is, down to 1826, the end of Dr. Bronson's administration, with such roster of the school's alumni as we have for that period, we find that forty-nine received all or part of their training at the academy. But this is by no means the whole story, for the record of those first years is known to be incomplete. However, it is complete enough to give to the school a place of importance in the educational life of the first days of the Church.

Now the earliest reference to anything definite in the matter of establishing a school appears in the records of a convocation "holden at East Haddam, on the 15th of Feb<sup>y</sup> 1792."<sup>1</sup> At that convocation it was

"Voted; That the several Clergy make enquiry of their neighbouring Towns, & see what could be done towards erecting an Episcopal Academy; & make report to the next Convocation."

No report was made as directed, but at the convention of the diocese held June 4th, 1794, the following action was taken:—

"Resolved, that the Rev. Mr. Bowden, Rev. Mr. Baldwin, S. W. Johnson, Esquire, Eli Curtiss, Esquire, and Dr. Elnathan Beach, be a Committee to prepare an address to the members of the Protestant Episcopal Church in this state, pointing out the importance of establishing an Episcopal Academy in this state, and to provide Subscription Papers for the purpose of obtaining monies to effect such an establishment; and that they make report to this Convention to-morrow morning."<sup>2</sup>

The committee reported as it was instructed. The nature of the report was that more time was needed, and it was suggested that a standing committee should be appointed to carry into effect the purposes of the preceding resolution. That suggestion was adopted and a strong committee of clergymen and laymen, three of the former and six of the latter, was appointed. Their names were "the Rev. Dr. Mansfield, Rev. Dr. Hubbard, Rev. Mr. Baldwin, Hon. Jonathan Ingersoll, Esquire, Mr. Elias Shipman, S. W. Johnson, Esquire, Mr. J. L. Wooster, Mr.

<sup>1</sup>The Records of Convocation, Diocese of Connecticut, p. 41.

<sup>2</sup>Journal of the Diocese of Connecticut for June 4, 1794, p. 11.

*John Nichols*, and *Mr. Ebenezer Baldwin*." Having done that much the convention adjourned. It is from this year 1794 that the academy dates its beginning, though it did not open its doors for the admission of pupils until two years later.

With this preliminary work accomplished what was the next step? It was to receive those subscription papers which had been authorized and issued, and it was also to receive "such Proposals as may be made to this Convention from any Town in this state for the purpose of establishing and supporting an Episcopal Academy in such Town." A town might jump at the opportunity for "establishing" an academy within its borders, but approach somewhat more leisurely the matter of "supporting" it.

At the morning session of the convention proposals came in from the towns of Wallingford and Cheshire, but at the afternoon session a committee was appointed to receive proposals from the "Towns of Cheshire, Wallingford, and Stratford only, for establishing an Episcopal Academy in one of said Towns, and that proposals be received by them till the first day of July next." At that time the committee was to meet at Major *Belamy's* Tavern in Hamden, and then and there "establish the Academy in that Town, which by them shall be considered the most eligible."

Cheshire was the town chosen. We do not know what were the deciding factors in making that choice. It was the smallest of the three towns, having a population in 1790 of 2,337. Perhaps that was one of the factors. But if that committee, upon whom was placed the duty of making the choice, had any sense of the beauty of location, we need not be surprised at the choice. Cheshire was on high ground, encircled by the stately hills of Prospect on the west, the mighty Sleeping Giant on the south, the beautiful Hanging Hills of Meriden on the north.

Dr. Bowden, the first principal, in his prospectus<sup>3</sup> of the school written in 1796, sensed this beauty of location as well as other advantages. He says:—"To those who are not acquainted with the Town of Cheshire, it may be expedient to observe, that it is situated in a pleasant and healthful country, about fourteen miles from New Haven. The road to it is good—the Necessaries and Conveniences of life are abundant; and the Manners of the People afford as few Temptations to Vice, as can be reasonably expected, when the Population is considerable." Allowing for any tendency to hyperbole, which is apt to creep into a prospectus, yet that is a fair statement of the advantages of Cheshire as the location for a school.

However, we do get another picture of Cheshire, which is certainly

<sup>3</sup>*The Churchman's Magazine*, vol. III, p. 440.

interesting, though not to be taken too seriously. It is from the pen of Samuel Farmer Jarvis (1786-1851), a sixteen year old schoolboy, whose youthful judgment should not be regarded, perhaps, as infallible. He was the son of Bishop Jarvis, who had removed from Middletown to Cheshire to be near his son whom he had placed under the care of Dr. Bowden at the academy, for whom he had a very high regard. The lad kept a diary<sup>4</sup> and this is the entry for Friday, October 22nd, 1802:—

"Went to Parson Hubbard's<sup>5</sup> after breakfast, and staid with papa till 11½ when we set out for Cheshire where we arrived about 2 O'Clock P. M. Cheshire is a pleasant little inland town about 12 miles from New Haven it contains houses and inhabitants, the general character of them is, they are deceitful, rude, ignorant, dishonest and not more civilized than the aboriginals."

For those who know and love Cheshire that is altogether delightful. This question of location having been settled, the convention pushed forward to the matter of organization, and on May 6th, 1796, adopted the following constitution:<sup>6</sup>—

"ARTICLE 1. The Academy established at Cheshire, by the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, shall be known by the name of the Episcopal Academy of Connecticut.

ART. 2. The government of the Academy, shall be vested in the hands of twenty one trustees. Of which number shall be the Bishop of Connecticut, and the President of the Academy, *ex officio*, the other trustees shall be chosen by the Convention, some of whom shall be Presbyters of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the remainder shall be laymen, and may be elected from any denomination of professing christians.

ART. 3. The trustees shall continue in office during good behaviour, and upon complaint, may be displaced by a vote of the Convention.

ART. 4. Nine of the trustees shall form a board, who shall meet at the Academy four times in each year, which shall be at the quarterly examinations. The President, or Vice-President, may call a meeting of the trustees at any other time, when they shall judge proper, or when a majority of the trustees shall request it; public notice thereof being given in one, or more news-papers in this state, at least two weeks previous to said meeting, by an advertisement signed by the Bishop, who shall be President, or the principal of the Academy, who shall be Vice President of the board of trustees.

ART. 5. Every vacancy among the trustees, shall be filled by the Convention.

<sup>4</sup>Now in Yale University Library.

<sup>5</sup>Bela Hubbard (1739-1812), Missionary of the S. P. S. in charge of Trinity Church, New Haven, Connecticut, and rector of same, 1767-1812.

<sup>6</sup>Printed in the *Journal of the Diocese of Connecticut* for June 1, 1796.

ART. 6. The principal of the Academy, (who shall always be a Presbyter, in the Protestant Episcopal Church), shall be elected by the Convention, and the assistant, or assistants, by the trustees, and both shall be liable to be displaced by their respective electors, if convicted of immoral conduct, or great neglect of duty.

ART. 7: The English language, Philosophy, Mathematics, History, and every other science usually taught at Colleges; likewise the dead languages, such as Greek and Latin. And whenever the finances of the Academy will admit, the trustees shall procure an instructor in the French language, purchase a library and philosophical apparatus at their own discretion. Female education, may be attended to under this institution, by such instructors, and under such regulations, as the trustees shall direct.

ART. 8. The principal or in his absence the assistant, or assistants, shall examine and admit, all persons into the Academy, according to his or their discretion; provided no person be admitted but such as can read the English language intelligibly. And the principal may, after admission, class as he pleases. Any person wishing to pursue a particular study, such as the Mathematics in its various branches, Logic, Rhetorick, Geography, Philosophy &c. shall have an instruction of that kind, without pursuing any classic studies of a different nature. And the principal may at any time, with the advice of the trustees, procure any gentleman, eminent in Divinity, Law or Physic, to read lectures in those branches respectively, provided a fund be procured for that purpose.

ART. 9. No bye laws of the Academy shall compel the students to attend public worship, but at such place, or places as their respective parents or guardians shall direct.

ART. 10. Whenever the foregoing articles, shall be adopted, by a vote of the Convention, they shall become the Constitution of the Episcopal Academy of Connecticut, and be subject to no revision or alteration, but by a vote of two thirds of the members of the Convention,"

The constitution is interesting as showing the broad foundations upon which the school was established. It was definitely a Church school, a diocesan institution, but some of the lay members of the board of trustees might be chosen from any denomination of professing Christians, and the pupils might attend public worship wherever their parents directed.

As a further indication of the broad intentions of the founders of the school, the following extract from an early prospectus of the school is of interest. It will be noted that from the first the founders had the vision of a seminary.

"This Seminary is properly denominated *Episcopal*, having had for its original founders the convention of the *Protestant Episcopal Church* in Connecticut; and being by constitution immediately superintended by a Presbyterian of that Church; yet no distinctions are made among the students except between the diligent and the idle, the sober and the profligate, or the virtuous and the vicious. To say, however, that none of the studies pursued are calculated with a particular view to the doctrines and tenets of the Episcopal Church, would be something worse than an affectation of a liberality which no where in reality exists; it would be a culpable disregard of truth, inasmuch as the primary object for which this Institution was founded, was to be a nursery to that Church, and to prepare young men for her Ministry. Of this none have a right to complain; while the wise and good, the candid and truly liberal, must unite in wishing success to whatever is designed for the promotion of science, morality and religion."<sup>7</sup>

That is a delightful declaration of liberality, tempered with the caution that there are limits to it, and that truth must not be disregarded, in making claims for it.

When the constitution had been adopted, the convention proceeded to the election of a board of trustees, which was to consist of seven presbyters and twelve laymen, who with the bishop and the principal made up the required number of twenty-one. The men who constituted that first board of trustees were among the most influential in the diocese. All the presbyters were graduates of Yale College, as were seven of the laymen

#### REV. JOHN BOWDEN ELECTED PRINCIPAL

The organization completed, the convention proceeded to the election of a principal, as provided for in the constitution just adopted.<sup>8</sup> The choice fell upon the Rev. John Bowden (1751-1817). He was one of the ablest men in the diocese, interested in educational matters, and thoroughly convinced of the importance of the project to establish an academy in the diocese, a project so dear to Bishop Seabury's heart. That he was not chosen as a trustee, was, in all probability, as has been suggested, that it was in the mind of the convention, from the first, to make him the principal. Mr. Bowden accepted his election.

And who was the Rev. John Bowden, unanimously chosen to the responsible, if somewhat dubious, task of starting this academic venture on its course? He was an Irishman, born in Ireland January 7th, 1751, son of Thomas Bowden, an officer in the British army. At the

<sup>7</sup>*The Churchman Magazine*, vol. III, p. 440.

<sup>8</sup>*Journal of the Diocese of Connecticut* for June 1, 1796.



time of his birth his father was stationed in Ireland. He came to America to take part in the French and Indian war, and his son soon followed him, under the guardianship of a Church of England clergyman. He was shaping his studies with the intention of entering Princeton College, and he did enter it, but remained there only two years, for at the end of that time he returned with his father to Ireland.

In 1770 he returned to America and entered King's (Columbia) College, from which he graduated in 1772. Now began his preparation for holy orders. Of course for those he had to return to England. There he was ordained deacon in 1774 by the bishop of Exeter, Dr. Frederick Keppel (1728-1777), and priest by the bishop of London, Dr. Richard Terrick (1710-1777). Upon his return to New York he became an assistant minister in Trinity Parish. His associate was the Rev. Benjamin Moore,<sup>9</sup> afterwards the bishop of New York. Their engagement was dependent upon the success of the committee appointed to solicit subscriptions for the payment of their salaries.

In the light of our knowledge of the present financial strength of Trinity Parish, it is interesting to read that the committee in extending the call to Mr. Moore and Mr. Bowden felt constrained to "acquaint them that such was the state of the funds of this corporation, that they had resolved not to be answerable for any deficiency that might happen in collecting the said subscriptions and other sums upon verbal engagements." But that was one hundred and seventy years ago.

He had scarcely entered upon his duties in Trinity Church when the Revolutionary War broke out, and Mr. Bowden retired to Norwalk, Connecticut. When the British came to New York he returned to Trinity, but owing to the weakness of his voice he did not venture to preach there. Upon the withdrawal of the British from the city, he went again to Norwalk, and from 1784 to 1789 he had charge of the church there. The trouble with his voice, occasioned in part apparently by the weakness of his lungs, persisted, and he was led to accept a call to the church at Saint Croix in the West Indies. The hoped-for benefit did not materialize, and after two years he returned to Connecticut, settling in Stratford, giving up preaching altogether.

But if he could not preach he could teach and write, and when the call came to him in 1796 to take charge of the newly-established academy in Cheshire, he did not hesitate to accept. There he remained until 1802, when he was made professor of moral philosophy and belles lettres in Columbia College. The precarious condition of his health

<sup>9</sup>Benjamin Moore (1748-1816); graduate of King's College 1768; bishop coadjutor of New York 1801-1815 (and *de facto* bishop during that time); bishop of New York, 1815-1816; president of Colombia College, 1801-1816.

led him in 1817 to visit Ballston Spa, New York State, in the hope that he might be benefited; but it was a vain hope, and on July 31st of that year he died, and was buried there in Ballston.

When the clergy sought a successor to Bishop Seabury, who had died February 25th, 1796, it was to Dr. Bowden that they first turned, October 19th, 1796, with a unanimous choice. He asked that he might delay his answer until the next convention, and when he gave it the answer was in the negative. No doubt it was the great uncertainty of his health that was the decisive factor. Had he accepted and the strength been given to him, his would have been a worthy name in our American episcopate.

There is a fine portrait of him owned by the diocese, which hangs in the present school. The artist is unknown, as is the date of the painting, but as he is wearing his doctor's hood it must have been after 1796, when he received his degree from Columbia.<sup>10</sup> He wrote numerous pamphlets, for the most part of a controversial nature, "more valuable in their day than now."<sup>11</sup>

Let us proceed with the story of the academy. It had been established in Cheshire, but it was not expected that the people of Cheshire should bear the full burden of its support, nor did the people of Cheshire expect to do that. It was voted by the convention that an emissary should be dispatched to New York to solicit donations for the benefit of the academy. And it had visions of going farther afield than that, for at the convention of 1796 it was voted that "one or more Agents be appointed to go to Europe for the purpose of soliciting donations for said Academy, as soon as the Trustees shall be possessed of unappropriated funds, sufficient for defraying the expences of such a mission." Apparently the trustees could not find any "unappropriated funds", for we hear nothing more about that.

These Connecticut Yankees were tapping every possible source of supply, and so when they were still expecting Dr. Bowden to accept his election to the episcopate, and to go to Philadelphia for consecration, they voted to request him "to solicit aid of such pious & charitable persons, or societies, as may be convenient for him to make application to, in his Tour to Philadelphia, for the encouragement, support, & benefit of the Episcopal Academy in Connecticut." That was perfectly legitimate, for while at first the trustees may have had only a limited conception of the patronage of the school, and certainly the people of

<sup>10</sup>It has some characteristics of Ralph Earle's (1751-1801) work, who was painting portraits in Connecticut about this time.

<sup>11</sup>For a fuller account of him, and for a complete list of his works, see *The Christian Journal*, vol. II, pp. 1, 2, 3. Also, Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit*, V, 304-308; Dr. William Berrian's (1787-1862) *Historical Sketch of Trinity Church, New York*, pp. 154-160.

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Cheshire saw in it the opportunity for the education of their children, yet it soon began to draw pupils from all parts of the country, and from the South American countries in time.

Originally the school had received girls as well as boys. Did not the constitution say that "female education may be attended to under this institution, by such instructors, and under such regulations, as the trustees shall direct"? The catalogue, which can make no claim to be complete, lists one hundred and seventeen girls. In 1836 a new constitution was adopted, making the school exclusively a boys' school.

Under Dr. Bowden the school prospered. We are unable to give the enrollment of those first years, for no complete catalogue exists.<sup>12</sup> In such catalogue as we do have there are very few names which appear on the list prior to 1814, and only five before 1800. And yet when the trustees petitioned the General Assembly for a charter in 1801 they made the statement that "since said month of June, 1796, the Academy has been open for the reception of students, and has generally had in a course of education about sixty persons, from that period to the present." Of course that does not mean that there were sixty different persons each year, but it does mean that we have not the names of some who received wholly, or in part, their preparation for holy orders.

#### REV. WILLIAM SMITH (1754-1821), SECOND PRINCIPAL OF THE ACADEMY

When Dr. Bowden accepted his appointment as professor in Columbia College it was necessary for him to relinquish his position at the academy. Consequently he submitted his resignation to the convention, which was held April 12th, 1802, and a ballot was taken immediately for his successor, which resulted in the election of Doctor William Smith of New York. He had been prominent in the affairs of the Church in Connecticut, and only recently had gone to New York where he had opened a grammar school. He is not to be confused with Dr. William Smith (1727-1803), the first provost of the College of Philadelphia, now the University of Pennsylvania.

He was a native of Scotland, and was educated there, and when he had received holy orders he came to this country in 1785. He was soon settled in Stepney Parish in Maryland, where he remained for about two years. And then in 1787 he accepted a call to the rectorship of St. Paul's Church, Narragansett, Rhode Island. On January 28th, 1790, he became rector of Trinity Church, Newport, Rhode Island. In 1797 he removed to St. Paul's Church, Norwalk, Connecticut. He at

<sup>12</sup>The first and only *Catalogue of the Officers, Teachers and Alumnae* of the School was published in 1916.

once assumed a place of importance in the diocese, being called upon to preach the sermon at the consecration of Doctor Jarvis, a distinction rarely accorded a presbyter.

There were other ways in which the convention showed its high regard for him. He served as its secretary for two years. And then at the convention of 1798 it was voted that "he be desired to prepare an Office for inducting and recognizing Clergymen into vacant Parishes." That action would never have been taken if his brethren had not appreciated his ability. But they had confidence in his knowledge of ecclesiastical and liturgical matters, and unreservedly committed the task to him. He was ready with his report in the following year, and after examining the proposed office "paragraph by paragraph", its adoption was voted. The original title was "Office of Induction." It was adopted by the General Convention of 1808 and the title changed to that which it still bears in our Book of Common Prayer, "An Office of Institution of Ministers." And thus the second principal of the academy has the distinction of being the author of an office in our Prayer Book.

Dr. Smith did not leave a large body of writings, but what he did leave shows a keen mind. The Rev. Samuel Blatchford, pastor of a church in Stratfield, Connecticut, ventured to write him a letter on the validity of Presbyterian ordination, which was brought out by his sermon at the consecration of Dr. Jarvis. Dr. Smith answers with a pamphlet of one hundred and forty-five pages, which displays something of his Scotch ruggedness and satirical humor. He was also a strong advocate of chanting and wrote a book on *The Reasonableness of Setting forth the Most Worthy Praise of Almighty God according to the Usage of the Primitive Church*, a book which ran to two hundred and ninety-seven pages.

In the library of Yale University there is a letter signed by Dr. Smith and five others, written of course by Dr. Smith, which shows keen regard for the moral welfare of his pupils. It is written to David Daggett,<sup>13</sup> at the moment a member of the State Legislature.

"David Daggett, Esq  
At Hartford  
in Assembly

Sir. . . . .

Whereas in various parts of the State & in this vicinity in particular, Pedlars are in the practice of selling and circulating books and pamphlets highly calculated to destroy every sense of

<sup>13</sup>David Daggett (1764-1851). U. S. Senator from Connecticut 1813-1819; Judge of the Connecticut Supreme Court, and Chief Judge till his retirement in 1834.

modesty and virtue—to exterminate the distinctions of right and wrong—to habituate juvenile minds to idleness, drunkenness and every species of dissolute conversation and conduct:— as Friends to Order and Youth in general, as Guardians of the innocence & morals of the students of the Academy in particular:—

We hereby solicit your representing to the Hon<sup>ble</sup> House of Assembly in this present session, this infraction upon the Virtue of Our rising Youth, and that you will endeavor to obtain some Act of Legislation, which may in future protect the Public from the promulgation of such books pamphlets or prints as at once shock the eye and ear of Decency, and ultimately lead to debauchery and ruin.—

The Delegates from this Town will show you, Sir, some of those Books, and give you some information concerning others which are in circulation, but kept more from the eye of detection.—Squire Hall will likewise shew you a paper signed David Welman, from which no mean arguments may be drawn against this daily increasing evil.—

It will be perfectly consistent with that prudent care which the Legislation of Connecticut hath uniformly taken to suppress vice and encourage Virtue, that the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Assembly issue such Law or Laws, as shall hereafter protect the Virtue of our Youth by preventing the spread of 'firebrands, arrows, and death' among them.

We are most respectfully  
Your hu<sup>le</sup> serv<sup>ts</sup>

Cheshire  
11th May, 1803."

Brilliant and versatile as Dr. Smith was, careful as he was of the morals of his boys, yet the management of a school was not in his line, whether viewed from the point of instruction or administration. We are told that "his judgment was not equal to his quickness of comprehension, and his opinions and language were often carried to extremes." There is plainly a suggested source of trouble there.

In the convention of 1805 a committee was appointed to enquire into the state of the academy, and report at that convention. The committee reported as instructed and the picture it gave of the situation was a sad one.<sup>14</sup> But we need not go further into this story. Dr. Smith sent in his resignation to the convention meeting June 5th, 1806, to take effect on the first of October following. After that he had no settled work, but officiated as opportunity offered. It was during this period that he published his book on psalmody. He died in New York City, April 6th, 1821.

While the picture drawn in the report on the state of the academy

<sup>14</sup>*Journal of the Diocese of Connecticut* for 1805, p. 9.



was most disheartening, yet the convention refused to be disheartened. The institution, which, under the inspiration of Bishop Seabury, it had labored to found, was still very much in their hearts, and so it lost no time in choosing a successor to Dr. Smith. On October 8th, 1806, it made unanimous choice of the Rev. Tillotson Bronson to be the principal of the academy.

THE REV. TILLOTSON BRONSON (1762-1826), THIRD  
PRINCIPAL OF THE ACADEMY

Tillotson Bronson was born in Northbury, Connecticut, as it was then known, Plymouth now, January 8th, 1762. Whence came the name *Tillotson* we do not know. So far as the family genealogy discloses it could be said, "There is none of thy kindred that is called by this name." He was the eldest son, the sixth child in a family of twelve. He was known among his contemporaries as "Tilly", and apparently Bishop Seabury must have thought that that was his name, for he so enters him in his *Registry* of deacons' ordinations. But when it comes to the entry of his ordination to the priesthood, a year and a half later, the bishop is less familiar.

Bronson's father was a farmer, and was earnestly desirous that his eldest son should likewise be a farmer. But the son had different ideas about that, and aided and abetted by his mother he prepared himself for Yale College, graduating in the class of 1786.

It may be of interest, in passing, to note that he was the uncle of Amos Bronson Alcott (1799-1888), Transcendentalist, who in his own right could lay claim to distinction, but also to the added distinction of being the father of Louisa May Alcott (1832-1888). Alcott taught the district school in Cheshire from 1825 to 1826, living for some time with his uncle at the academy.<sup>15</sup> Apparently he never taught in the academy. His methods would hardly conform with those of his uncle.

Tillotson Bronson was ordained deacon by Bishop Seabury September 21st, 1786, and priest February 24th, 1788. The first years of his ministry were spent in Vermont and New Hampshire, and in temporary charge of Christ Church, Boston. He then returned to Connecticut, where he served one or more parishes, before taking charge in 1797 of St. John's Church, Waterbury, where he remained until 1806.

While serving there, in October of that year, he was called to the principalship of the Episcopal Academy of Connecticut. For a while about this time he was editor of *The Churchman's Monthly Magazine*,<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup>*Pedlar's Progress, Life of Bronson Alcott*, by Odell Shepard, p. 75.

<sup>16</sup>For an account of this Magazine, see Clifton H. Brewer's *A History of Religious Education in the Episcopal Church to 1835*, p. 129. Also, *Historical Magazine of the Episcopal Church*, XI, 211 ff.



a new publication sponsored by the convocation of the diocese,<sup>17</sup> the first issue of which appeared in January, 1804.

Through the changing fortunes of the years it lived on until 1827, not always, however, under his editorship. In the last volume is this notice to subscribers:— "We now take final leave of this work, which has gone through a greater variety of vicissitudes, and has existed longer than any publication of the kind in our country. In bringing it to the close of the present volume, we feel gratified that we have been able to discharge a debt which seemed due to the memory of a much loved and valued friend." Dr. Bronson had died September 6th, 1826.

When he took charge of the academy in 1806 he was forty-four years old and twenty years out of college, just in the prime of his powers. He needed to be, because the task which he faced was a difficult one. The choice of Mr. Bronson proved a wise one, and soon the academy was entering upon a period of prosperity which abundantly justified the faith and courage of those who once having had the vision of a diocesan school never lost sight of it.

From the first it had been in the minds of the founders of the academy that it should develop into a college. Now, under the leadership of Mr. Bronson, its prosperity was such as to warrant the convention to make application to the legislature to grant to the academy the privilege and power to confer degrees. Consequently the following action was taken at the convention of 1810:—<sup>18</sup>

"Whereas doubts have arisen whether the Trustees of the Episcopal Academy of Connecticut, which was established at Cheshire by this Convention, in the year 1796, are invested with power of conferring upon the students, the degrees and testimonials of literary proficiency, usually granted in Colleges; and whereas the great objects contemplated by the Convention cannot be accomplished, unless the Trustees are authorized to confer such degrees; thereupon

*Resolved*, That the Trustees of said Academy be requested to prefer a petition to the next General Assembly of the State of Connecticut, with all the powers, privileges and immunities of a College."

Nothing came of their petition, beyond the satisfaction of having preferred it. The Congregational Standing Order was still supreme in the political affairs of the state. Its grip would be broken a few years hence, but at the moment it was powerful enough to block any

<sup>17</sup>The Convocation was a meeting of the clergy to consult on spiritual matters in the diocese. The first, of which the minutes have been preserved, was held June 2, 1790, the last June 13, 1848. The Convention, organized in 1792, was composed of both clergymen and laymen.

<sup>18</sup>*Journal of Convention*, 1810, p. 16.

such movement as that. "There was a fair majority in the Lower House for granting Collegiate powers, but the bill was lost in the Senate." That is the report regarding it.<sup>19</sup>

The Church people were, naturally, greatly disappointed at the refusal of the legislature to grant their plea. But they kept at it with a persistence worthy of their cause. Letters which came to Dr. Bronson, and are preserved in the archives of the diocese, show the deep interest felt in the matter. One man wrote: "Many of the Episcopalians are much displeased to think that the Assembly bear so hard against the Episcopalians; as you know, the men who compose the Upper House are quite *Blue*."<sup>20</sup> That has a theological rather than an academic implication. However, in fairness it should be said, if we may judge from some of the letters in the files, that the friends of the petition were not as aggressive and unanimous as the cause demanded. Of course, as might be expected, politics played no small part in the matter.

An extract from a letter from a future principal of the school will give us an idea of some of the questions involved. It says:

"From your account of the situation of our College Petition there appears to be two evils, the one regards the location of the College, the other certain political motives which influence certain *Trimmers*—You know that I am very willing the College should be at Cheshire, but when so many object to it would it not be advisable to petition for an Episcopal college, and leave the discussion of place to the Trustees? I think it will amount to the same thing, for if a Charter is obtained for the College at Cheshire and the Trustees should afterward petition for the removal of it to any other place the Legislature would grant them permission."<sup>21</sup>

It might and again it might not. There was objection to locating the college in Cheshire, whether sincerely made or not does not matter now. In the light of after events it would seem a valid objection. But all this was long ago, and is of interest to-day only as a matter of history. The Episcopalians got their college, but it was not the Episcopal Academy grown to manhood. It was a new institution altogether.

Connecticut remained under its charter of 1662 until 1818, when light began to dawn. In that year a new constitution was adopted. In the elections which followed new and able men were brought into the assembly, a few Episcopalians among them. The grip of the

<sup>19</sup>*The Churchman's Magazine*, New Series, vol. V, p. 263.

<sup>20</sup>Manuscript letter of Samuel Johnston, dated June 2nd, 1812. Union College, 1815; deacon, June 17th, 1816; died May 22nd, 1833.

<sup>21</sup>Manuscript letter of Rev. Bethel Judd, dated December 28th, 1812. Yale College, 1797; deacon, September 30th, 1798; died April 8th, 1858.

Standing Order was definitely broken. The persistence of Churchmen in petitioning for a college charter was rewarded in 1823 when Washington College was chartered, name to be changed in 1845 to Trinity College. And thus the status of the old academy remained unchanged, to go on its way as a preparatory school, undisturbed by any thoughts of collegiate grandeur.

At the convention held June 2nd, 1819, a committee was appointed to visit the academy and "investigate the state of the funds of that institution, and all the facts connected with its interest and prosperity." The report was made, and by request Dr. Bronson gave an abstract of it for insertion in the *Journal*.<sup>22</sup> It was a full picture of the life and work of the school, ending with these statistics of the years covering Dr. Bronson's administration up to that time:

"The average number of students, during the last thirteen years, has been about 60 in each term, varying from 36 to 96. Of those educated at the Academy since its institution, 28 have taken Holy Orders—3 are now candidates—about 90 have been qualified to enter the various Colleges. The number of those who have been qualified for the professions of Law and Medicine is considerable; but cannot be correctly ascertained."

These are not large figures, but they show that the school was doing what it was established to do, train men for holy orders. Those figures do not give the full picture, for the years of Dr. Bowden and Dr. Smith are not included. We have no list of the pupils of those days. And yet we know that a considerable number were in attendance at the school during the ten years of their service.

Dr. Bronson served the school faithfully and well, and longer than any other principal, except Dr. Horton later on. He was a member of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, and Brown University bestowed upon him the degree of doctor in divinity in 1813. He was long honored with membership on the standing committee of the diocese. His death came September 6th, 1826. He was buried in the church-yard at Cheshire, his grave marked by a suitable monument placed there in grateful remembrance by his old pupils and friends.

<sup>22</sup>*Journal of Convention for 1819, p. 40.*

## PRINCIPALS COME AND GO

1826 to 1862

The death of Dr. Bronson created a serious problem for the academy. Bishop Brownell in his convention address,<sup>23</sup> says: "It will be a matter of no small difficulty to find a person suitably qualified to fill this important station. If it should be hastily and improperly filled, the evil cannot be easily remedied; and if no candidate can be found, who shall receive the decided approbation of the present Convention, I would recommend that the Trustees of the Institution be requested to procure some proper teacher to supply the vacancy till the next Annual Convention." That was what the trustees did, acting on that recommendation.

The rector of the local parish was the Rev. Henry M. Mason (d. April 25, 1868). He was made provisional principal, and served in that capacity for about a year. This was the beginning of a practice, which, though resorted to for practical reasons was very unsatisfactory, the practice of combining the office of rector of the parish with that of principal of the academy. Aside from the fact that one man could not do justice to either office, the bishop raises what might be called a moral question when he says, "The funds of the Academy were raised for the education of youth, under the auspices of the Church, and it is obvious that they ought to be sacredly applied to this object. They cannot be diverted to the support of a parish minister, nor to constitute a sinecure for a nominal principal." The convention went so far as to vote that "it is inexpedient that the same gentleman should fill the offices of Principal of the Episcopal Academy at Cheshire, and pastor of the Episcopal Congregation in that place."<sup>24</sup> That might seem to be final, but it was not.

While the trustees were finding it difficult to select a successor to Dr. Bronson, yet they were not unmindful of their responsibility. They made two attempts to elect a principal but the men chosen were not available. One of those men was the Rev. William R. Whittingham (1805-1879), afterwards bishop of Maryland.<sup>25</sup> This was in the summer of 1828. He accepted and went so far as to make his plans

<sup>23</sup>*Journal of Convention for 1827*, p. 11.

<sup>24</sup>*Journal of Convention for 1829*, p. 45.

<sup>25</sup>*Life of William Rollinson Whittingham* by William Francis Brand, p. 43. Also, *Record Book of the Trustees*, entry for October 8, 1818. This book is in the archives of the diocese.

to go to Cheshire, but he had only recently been ordained and was still a deacon. Bishop Hobart peremptorily refused to grant him letters dimissory, and he had to recall his acceptance to his great mortification. One may wonder, without profit to anyone, what would have been the effect upon the academy if he had accepted. He was a great bishop, but he might have been a poor schoolmaster.

The Rev. Mr. Mason continued in temporary charge of the school until 1829, but on June 2nd, 1831, the Rev. Christian F. Crusé (1794-1865), was elected principal. He was a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania in the class of 1815, sometime librarian of the General Theological Seminary, described as "one of the most learned men in the Church." The convention had definitely voted that the same man should not be principal of the Academy and rector of the church at the same time, and yet they promptly disregarded that vote in the case of Mr. Crusé.

He remained at the academy until the winter of 1831. The school now somewhat resembled a doubtful summer morning, described as "opening and shutting." When Mr. Crusé left, the academy remained closed until June 2nd, 1832, when the Rev. Bethel Judd (1776-1858), became the principal. He was a graduate of Yale College in the class of 1797. He came to Cheshire from New London, Connecticut, where he had been rector of St. James' Church for fourteen years, a rectorship rich in its results, but not all that it might have been, perhaps, had he been free to devote all his time to the parish. To eke out his salary he did what many of the early clergy did, opened a school, which "so engrossed his time and attention, that he was never able to bestow upon the parish the amount of labor which its interests required."<sup>26</sup> During his administration of the academy the attempt was made to introduce the system of manual labor to aid needy students, but it was not a success. Dr. Judd resigned October 13th, 1835.

The school now remained closed for a year. It was in a very depressed condition and needed the guiding hand of just the right man to pull it out of the slough into which it had fallen. He was forthcoming in the person of the Rev. Allen Clay Morgan (1802-1838). He was a graduate of Yale College in the class of 1826, and from that year to 1831 taught schools in Norwalk and Hartford, Connecticut, and in Ulster, New York State. After his ordination to the diaconate, November 27th, 1831, he exercised his ministry for the most part in St.

<sup>26</sup>*Annals of St. James's Church, New London*, by Robert A. Hallam, D. D., p. 93.



John's Church, Waterbury, where he was serving as rector, when in 1836 he was called to the headship of the Episcopal Academy.

It seemed as if under his leading the future of the school was bright. He had all the qualifications to make it such, the enthusiasm of young manhood, the love for teaching, the proper regard for discipline, a well-stored mind. But it was otherwise ordered. On October 12th, 1838, he died and was buried in Waterbury where he had been rector. The Rev. E. E. Beardsley, his pupil at Norwalk, his rector and successor at Cheshire, preached a sermon commemorative of him, speaking of him as a *Man*, as a *Christian*, as a *Minister*, and as a *Teacher of Youth*.<sup>27</sup> It was a fine tribute to one, who, had he lived, would have made for himself, in all probability, an enviable record as a schoolmaster, and given to the academy an impetus which would have carried it nobly on its way.

The school was not long without a successor to Mr. Morgan. On November 8th, less than a month after Mr. Morgan's death, the Rev. E. E. Beardsley (1808-1891) became principal. This was easily accomplished, because he was the rector of the parish, and again there was resort to that unsatisfactory and somewhat discredited arrangement of having the rector and the principal one and the same person. It was contrary to Mr. Beardsley's better judgment, but expediency decreed otherwise. However, it was the last time.

Mr. Beardsley was a graduate of Washington, now Trinity College, in the class of 1832; rector of St. Thomas' Church, New Haven, 1848-1891; member of the General Convention, 1868-1889; president of the House of Deputies, 1880 and 1883; long a member of the standing committee of the diocese, 1859-1891; historian and author. He resigned from the academy November 6th, 1844.

Following him came the Rev. Seth B. Paddock (1795-1851), who died in office. He was a graduate of Yale College in the class of 1820.

He was succeeded by the Rev. Hilliard Bryant (1808-1880), who was a graduate of Amherst College in the class of 1831.

The Rev. Edward Ballard (1806-1870) came next. He was a graduate of Dartmouth College in the class of 1830. He resigned in April, 1857.

For six months now the School was again closed, but it reopened in October of that year under the principalship of the Rev. John H. Babcock (1826-1908). He was a graduate of Union College in the class of 1845. He resigned October 19th, 1861.

<sup>27</sup>*Chronicle of the Church*, November 9th, 1838, p. 359.



## A NEW ERA DAWNS

1862 to 1892

Thirty years had passed since Dr. Bronson died, and during that time nine principals had served the school. This was not a wholesome situation. It suggested a lack of stability. And yet the work of educating youths was going on all the time. The numbers were never large. There were no facilities for large numbers. Mr. Beardsley, giving an account of his administration, says: "We have had in the course of instruction, each term for six years, an average number of forty-two scholars, most of whom were from other towns than Cheshire, and many from extreme parts of the Union." That last statement is interesting because it shows that the old academy had lost much of its local character, and was drawing pupils from farther afield. This fact would become more conspicuous in the years to follow.

In the midst of the trying days of the war between the states it became necessary to appoint a new principal. On January 1st, 1862, the Rev. Sanford J. Horton (1817-1896) took charge of the school, and his tenure of office was as long as the nine who had preceded him. He was a graduate of Trinity College in the class of 1843. From 1852 to 1862 he was rector of St. Paul's Church, Windham, Connecticut, and in addition he conducted a school for boys. When he went to Cheshire he took some of his Windham boys with him, even as Dr. Bowden took some of the boys from his Stratford school when he went to Cheshire.

Because of the war the military spirit was rife, and military discipline was finding its way into the curriculum of many a school. There was the Russell School in New Haven which had a well-merited reputation.<sup>28</sup> Dr. Horton soon introduced the military system into the academy. The uniform adopted was of Confederate gray, chosen, perhaps, in contrast to the dark blue of the Russell School. But it may have been chosen because of its serviceableness. Dr. Horton was not one to overlook that fact.

The academy had now entered upon a new and prosperous era. In the report to the trustees for the year 1863 the enrollment is shown to be one hundred; eighty boarders and twenty day scholars, and the principal is calling for larger accommodations. A large frame building was erected at this time. It served its purpose until the morning of September 25th, 1873, when it was completely destroyed by fire. It was immediately replaced by a substantial brick building, which was

<sup>28</sup>Founded in 1836 by General William H. Russell (1809-1885), Yale 1833.

named Horton Hall by the trustees. This, too, was destroyed by fire. The original building erected in 1796 still stands, though it has endured severe evisceration to adapt it to modern needs. This is known as Bowden Hall, a name not given to it at first, however.

After a successful administration of thirty years, Dr. Horton resigned June 30th, 1892. He died June 7th, 1896, and was buried in Cheshire Churchyard.

The story of the remaining years need not hold us long, though it has yet a quarter of a century to go. Dr. Horton was succeeded by the Rev. James Stoddard (1849-1916). He was a graduate of Trinity College in the class of 1871.

When he resigned July 1st, 1896, he was succeeded by Eri Davidson Woodbury (1837-1928), Dartmouth, 1863. He had served in the Civil War with distinction, and bore the wounds of it. When he was mustered out June 21st, 1865, he went as classical teacher to the Episcopal Academy, and for many years served as headmaster under the principal. He was the first layman to act in the capacity of principal. The original constitution had been changed in 1836 to make that possible. Mr. Woodbury, "Professor," as he was invariably called, never forgot his military training. He was ever the soldier, erect in bearing, quick in action, stern in manner, but with a heart full of kindness, and always just in his dealings with the boys. He resigned July 1st, 1903. He died April 14th, 1928, and was buried in Cheshire Churchyard.

Roland J. Mulford (1871- ) was appointed to the headship of the school on July 1st, 1903. He was a graduate of Harvard University in the class of 1893, and had received the degree of doctor of philosophy from Johns Hopkins in 1903.

But now a great change came over the fortunes of the academy. In 1904 an old academy boy, Joseph W. Harriman (1867- ) of New York, leased the property, and overhauled and modernized the entire plant. The military feature, which came in with Dr. Horton, was abolished, "Episcopal" went from its name, and it became "Cheshire School." It ceased to be a diocesan institution. All this was recognized to be in trend with the times. With the strengthening of the financial set-up it seemed as if the day of larger things was at hand, and old boys and friends were exuberant with hope for the future.

Connecticut, the happy hunting ground for private schools, saw them springing up in almost every direction. Heavily endowed and lavishly housed they furnished a competition which the old academy could not meet. It was easier to establish a new school than to revivify an old one. Expectations were not immediately realized, and Mr.

Mulford resigned April 20th, 1907, and became the founder and head master of Ridgefield School.

He was followed at Cheshire by the Rev. John D. Skilton (1867- ), a graduate of Kenyon College in the class of 1888, who had had a wide experience as a schoolmaster. He retired from the academy in June, 1910.

His successor, and the last to occupy the position, was Paul Klimpke (1868-1935), a graduate of Yale in the class of 1892. He had been a successful master in Taft School. He resigned in June, 1917, and the old Episcopal Academy of Connecticut, after one hundred and twenty-three years of its existence, came to an end. On its site, and occupying the buildings with some new ones to replace Horton Hall destroyed by fire, January 8th, 1941, is a prosperous school bearing the corporate name Cheshire Academy, but it has no connection with the old diocesan school known as the Episcopal Academy of Connecticut.

The story of the Episcopal Academy of Connecticut ought not to come to a close without some reference to the body of its alumni, not necessarily those who went through the process of graduating, but those who spent a longer or shorter time there in their scholastic training. The school was established, as we have seen, for the education of the sons of Church parents, primarily perhaps, of Cheshire, but of adjoining towns as well. It is evident that in the earlier days many of the boys went to the academy for the winter months, working on the farm in spring and summer. Later they began to come in increasing numbers from farther afield.

The General Catalogue, published in 1916, the first and only general catalogue, lists something over three thousand boys and one hundred and seventeen girls, the girls coming in those early years when "female education was attended to." This is not a complete roster, but as complete as it can be under the circumstances, to be increased, possibly, as names are discovered from time to time. This paragraph from the foreword of the catalogue may be of interest here. It says:

"From 1839 down, the list is fairly complete, though probably there are some gaps in the period between 1839 and 1850. A little uncertainty hangs over the early sixties. Prior to 1839 there are doubtless a great many names which have not been recovered, though the period from 1814 to 1826 is nearly if not quite complete. Very few names appear on the list prior to 1814, and only five names of boys who were in the School before 1800."

Whence came the boys who, through the years, found their way to Cheshire? From what class, if we may use that term, did they stem? They came from all directions, even from Central and South America, from Mexico and the West Indies. So much for geography. As for class—well, they were thoroughly heterogeneous, whatever the standard by which class is determined. In the military period the gray uniform was always gray, and free from all embellishments save the insignia of rank, which the boy might win. In his closet hung, perhaps, a well-tailored Fifth Avenue suit. It was nice to have it there to wear home at vacation time. He had no need for it at the school. There was one class of boys there, so far as dress indicated.

At the school in 1802 to 1804 there was a lad, Jackson Kemper (1789-1870), who might have, perhaps, a somewhat different view of this matter of class. His biographer<sup>29</sup> tells us that he was not "happy in the academy at Cheshire, which was regarded, apparently, too much in the light of a house of correction by parents of unmanageable boys."

How much of the biographer is in that and how much of Kemper it is not easy to say. It may be that the boy was "somewhat fastidious, used as he was to refined, feminine environment," and not equal to the rough ways of a not too-well ordered school. But be that as it may, he picked up somewhere the rugged qualities which made him the great missionary bishop of well-nigh all the West. Personalities differ, and where one finds the going hard and unpleasant another takes it in his stride. Kemper's contemporary, Henry Washington Lee (1815-1874), the first bishop of Iowa, though at Cheshire some years later, had no complaints, so far as we are aware, of the rudeness and roughness of his fellow-students. And the same could be said of Edwin S. Lines (1845-1927), bishop of Newark, than whom the old academy had no more devoted son.

A study of the catalogue of those who received, wholly or in part, their scholastic training at Cheshire will disclose the names of many who have served well in their respective walks of life. If it is of the ministry we are thinking, the number of those, who, from first to last, have taken holy orders is large; if it is of statecraft, there is Gideon Welles (1802-1878), Secretary of the Navy in Lincoln's Cabinet; if it is of the Army, there is General Joseph Wheeler (1836-1906) of the Confederacy, of the Union in the Spanish-American War; if it is of the Navy there are Admiral Foote (1896-1863) and Commodore Hull (1802-1890); if it is of business, there are J. Pierpont Morgan, Senior (1837-1913) and William Gwinn Mather (1857- ); if it is of the law there is DeLancey Nicoll (1854-1931); if it is of artists and architects, there

<sup>29</sup>Greenough White, *An Apostle of the Western Church*, p. 10.

are John Frederick Kensett (1816-1872) and Ernest Flagg (1857- ); if it is of any of the professions, there are those too numerous to mention, worthy representatives of their calling.

Now we have not called this roll of some of the academy's boys, who have distinguished themselves, in any spirit of boastfulness, though we are justified in regarding them with pardonable pride, but to show in some measure what the academy has stood for, and to prove its place in the long line of scholastic institutions, which have played their part in the educational history of our land. No one who is at all familiar with the story of the founding of the school, and with its hopes and disappointments through the years, can fail to feel poignant regret that its work is done, and must henceforth live only in memory. This then is the history of the EPISCOPAL ACADEMY OF CONNECTICUT.

## NEGRO EPISCOPALIANS IN ANTE-BELLUM NORTH CAROLINA

*By John Hope Franklin\**

THE Church of England enjoyed an advantage over the other religious groups in North Carolina during the entire colonial period. The earliest settlers in the province were communicants of the Church, and Locke's "Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina" formally established the Church in the colony. Since this document was never really enforced in North Carolina the Church of England had to wait on an enactment by the colonial assembly for its real establishment. After several attempts, beginning in 1701, the colonial assembly finally established the Church of England as the official Church of the colony in 1715.<sup>1</sup> From time to time, additional acts strengthened the position of the Church, so that long before the end of the period its position as the preeminent religious institution of the colony was not seriously questioned. This is not to say that its establishment was not opposed. The presence in the colony of Quakers, Presbyterians, and a few Roman Catholics assured the supporters of the Church that they could expect opposition from some quarters.

As the population of the colony increased and as settlers moved into the back country the Church experienced considerable difficulty in maintaining its influence over the lives of the inhabitants of the colony. The dispersion of the population and the consequent obstacles in the way of maintaining organized religion in the hinterland were challenges which the missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel could not always meet.<sup>2</sup> The migration of various groups of pietists into the Piedmont, moreover, was an additional obstacle that stood in the way of the complete acceptability of the Church by the inhabitants of the colony.

\*The author is Professor of History in the North Carolina College for Negroes, Durham.

<sup>1</sup>Walter Clark, ed.: *State Records of North Carolina*. (Goldsboro, 1896). Vol. 23, 6-10.

<sup>2</sup>The missionaries were always complaining of the physical difficulties involved in getting from place to place and keeping the scattered settlers in touch with the Church. See the letter of the Rev. James Reed to the S. P. G., June 26, 1760, William L. Saunders, ed., *Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1887), Vol. 6, 265.



Toward the end of the colonial period the position which the Church of England occupied was one of influence and power; and its members were among the wealthiest and most respected residents of the colony. Even after the disestablishment, which came with the adoption of the first State Constitution in 1776, the embryonic Protestant Episcopal Church, though without a closely-knit organization for many years, continued to exercise considerable influence not only as a religious institution but as a political and economic force as well. The views of its leaders on important public questions were accepted by many in the colonial period as at least semi-official, and during the national period its clergy and laity often wielded an influence in the affairs of the state all out of proportion to their numbers.

In the ante-bellum period the dominant group in southern life often found itself in a position where it had to make decisions with regard to the Negroes in their midst. Such decisions not infrequently called for sobriety, careful judgment, and foresight. The religious life of the Negroes—especially the slave—caused the whites great concern, and much time and thought were given to the problem of whether or not the slave should be permitted to become a Christian. If he should be brought into the fellowship of the Christian faith, the kind of religious experiences and teachings to which he should be exposed was of real importance to the master who looked upon his future relations with his Christian slave with some trepidation. It can hardly be said that the concern for the slave's religious life arose out of a feeling of shameful guilt imposed on the master by the Christian doctrine of the brotherhood of all men. Too few of them were aware of any moral or ethical wrong in slavery. What plagued many slave holders was the simple matter of discipline. They wanted to be certain that conversion to Christianity would have no deleterious effect on the master-slave relationship. They wanted to be equally as certain that the periods of worship would not provide opportunities for conspiracies of rebellion among slaves and free Negroes. They realized, furthermore, that if the teachings of the Word were expounded from the point of view of the master, they might, indeed, have a most salutary effect upon the master-slave relationship. At any rate, it was a problem to be faced, and the slaveholders were determined to solve it in a manner that would not be contrary to their best interests.

In a state that could not boast of a great array of large slaveholders, Episcopalians perhaps led the field in size of plantations and number of slaves. The Pettigrews, Collinses, Burgwyns, Beattys, Skinners, and Eatons, who were all prominent slaveholders, were communicants of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Because of the extent of their ma-

terial interest in the institution of slavery, the whole question of the effect of conversion on the status of the slaves was vitally important.

The impression must not be conveyed that North Carolinians at the beginning of the nineteenth century were unusually sensitive on religious matters or that the salvation of human souls had become one of the great obsessions with them. Indeed, this was a period of religious quiescence—if not decline—in the state as a whole. North Carolinians were affected, perhaps, by the deistic philosophy that had made considerable headway in some other areas where the Anglican Church had been the established religious institution in the colonial period. They were not among those, for instance, who were alarmed at the election of Jefferson in 1800 because of his religious views.<sup>3</sup> Nor had North Carolinians felt the refreshing effects of the revivals that were taking place in the hinterland. North Carolinians of the Anglican faith were not present at the organization of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Philadelphia in 1785; and not enough of them became sufficiently interested to overcome the obstacles of organizing a diocese until more than a generation later. Despite their general apathy in religious matters, however, they remained interested in the religious life of the Negroes.

This interest which North Carolina Episcopalians manifested in the religion of their slaves and of free Negroes at the beginning of the nineteenth century was not new. Although the revolutionary philosophy of freedom and equality had doubtless affected them as it had many other groups, they had expressed some concern for the religious life of Negroes since the earliest days of the colony. For example, Pennington observes that, "The conversion of slaves to Christianity raised the question, whether baptism served to free them. This problem puzzled the colonists for many years; and the misgivings of the slave-owners impeded the progress of converting the Indians and Negroes, even in the face of legislative enactment and pastoral letters."<sup>4</sup> Slaveholders should not have doubted the status of baptized slaves, however, for in 1669 John Locke had enunciated the principle that became the accepted view in North Carolina:

Since charity obliges us to wish well the souls of all men, and religion ought to alter nothing in any man's civil estate or right, it shall be lawful for slaves . . . to enter themselves, and be of what church or profession any of them shall think best, and thereof be as fully members as any freeman. But yet no

<sup>3</sup>Delbert H. Gilpatrick, *Jeffersonian Democracy in North Carolina, 1789-1816*. (New York, 1931), 121-126.

<sup>4</sup>Edgar Legare Pennington, *The Church of England in Colonial North Carolina*. (Hartford, 1937), 12.

slave shall hereby be exempted from that civil dominion his master hath over him, but be in all things in the same state and condition he was in before.<sup>5</sup>

In 1718, however, the Rev. Ebenezer Taylor of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was prevented from continuing his effective work among Indians and Negroes because of the "popular prejudice which showed itself again in the colonial days, that the slave who was baptized was thereby manumitted."<sup>6</sup> The Rev. Mr. Taylor opined that, "Many of the slaves of this country . . . would be converted, Baptized, and saved if their Masters were not so wicked as they are, and did not oppose their Conversion, Baptism and Salvation, so much as they do . . . ." On one occasion this missionary was preparing a number of the slaves of one Esquire Duckenfield for baptism, but "the enemies to the conversion and baptism of slaves, industriously and very busily buzzed into the People's Ears, that all slaves that were baptized were to be set free, and this silly Buckbear so greatly scared Esquire Duckenfield that he plainly set forth that I should Baptize no more of his slaves 'till the Society had got a law made in England that no Baptized slave should be set free because he is Baptized and send it here . . . ."<sup>7</sup>

Although some Anglican masters may have continued to have some misgivings about the effect of Christianity, it appears that before the end of the colonial period there was a rather general acceptance of the idea that baptism of slaves did not of itself manumit them. In 1775 one missionary reported with pride that he had baptized many Negro slaves and "never received ye least compensation . . . ."<sup>8</sup> In 1760 the Rev. Alexander Stewart reported that he had baptized thirty-five Negro slaves in six months,<sup>9</sup> while another missionary reported that he baptized five free mulattoes on one occasion.<sup>10</sup> Despite the improved situation, one missionary seemed quite dissatisfied with the relation of the Church to Negroes when he observed,

<sup>5</sup>John Locke, "Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina," William Macdonald, *Select Charters and Other Documents Illustrative of American History, 1606-1775*. (New York, 1899), 166-167.

<sup>6</sup>Joseph B. Cheshire, *Sketches of Church History in North Carolina*. (Wilmington, 1892), 92. Haywood contends that "it has never been the policy of the Church in North Carolina to withhold spiritual enlightenment from the Negroes." Marshall deLancey Haywood, *Lives of the Bishops of North Carolina*. (Raleigh, 1910), 98.

<sup>7</sup>Ebenezer Taylor to the Secretary of the S. P. G., April 23, 1719, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, vol. 2, 332-333.

<sup>8</sup>Richard Marsden to the Bishop of London, July 7, 1775, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, vol. 4, 14.

<sup>9</sup>Alexander Stewart to the Secretary of the S. P. G., October 10, 1760, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, vol. 6, 315.

<sup>10</sup>John Macdowell to the Society, February 9, 1760, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, vol. 6, 225.

We have no Indians amongst us, but the greatest part of the Negroes in the whole country may too justly be accounted heathens. 'Tis impossible for ministers in such extensive counties, to instruct them in the principles of the Christian religion and their masters will not take the least pains to do it themselves. I baptize all those whose masters become sureties for them, but never baptize any Negro infants or Children upon any other terms.<sup>11</sup>

During the Revolution the Church of England became so unpopular in North Carolina that it only gradually recovered from the depression into which it had sunk. Although there were several efforts in the opening years of the century to set up an effective working organization embracing the entire state, it was not until 1823 that the Episcopalians were strong enough to support a bishop of their own. In that year the Rev. John Stark Ravenscroft was called to the episcopate of North Carolina. Work was already progressing among the Negroes when Bishop Ravenscroft began to administer the affairs of the Church. The records of Christ Church of New Bern show that in 1818 slaves were being baptized under the sponsorship of their masters, and free Negroes were being baptized as well:

May 6—at the house of William Judd—Julia, a black female child aged about 6 years, the property of said William Judd; sponsors William Judd, his wife, Mehitable Judd. Also at the same time and place Laura, a black infant daughter of Pakey, a black man and property of William Judd, and Sukey, a free black woman.<sup>12</sup>

In the third decade of the nineteenth century, during the episcopate of Bishop Ravenscroft, many of the ministers of the Church were actively engaged in the work of providing spiritual enlightenment for Negroes. In 1827 the rector of St. Mary's Chapel in Orange County reported that he had baptized twenty-five Negro children on the plantation of one of his communicants, and that on the premises there was a large number of Negro communicants to whom he ministered.<sup>13</sup>

In some respects the coming of the Reverend Levi Silliman Ives

<sup>11</sup>James Reed to the Society, June 26, 1760, Saunders, *Colonial Records*, vol. 6, 265.

<sup>12</sup>Gertrude Carraway, *Crown of Life: History of Christ Church, New Bern, N. C., 1715-1940*. (New Bern, 1940), 124.

<sup>13</sup>*Journal of the Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of North Carolina*. (New Bern, 1828), 23, hereinafter called *Journal*.

to the episcopate was unfortunate,<sup>14</sup> but for the growth of the work among Negroes his appearance on the scene can be regarded as fortunate. It seems that Bishop Ives himself was intensely interested in extending the spiritual guidance of the Church to Negroes. His annual reports to the convention reveal his numerous contacts with slaves and free Negroes, and the reports of the clergy during his tenure reveal an increased interest in the work among Negroes, part of which at least can certainly be attributed to him. Almost yearly, Bishop Ives reported that he had conducted services for Negroes, and not infrequently he preached to them. In 1836 he reported that he went to Wadesborough to preach to the "coloured congregation," but regretted that he was too exhausted to fill the engagement.<sup>15</sup>

Bishop Ives made frequent visits to the plantations of Ebenezer Pettigrew and Josiah Collins, where there were nearly a hundred Negro Episcopalians. In 1838 he spent three days there, "attending examinations in the Catechism and Bible, preaching, and confirming ten persons." He counted this experience "among the most pleasing" in his ministry. Concerning the evening prayers at the Negro church, Bishop Ives observed that "the responses were made from memory, and the whole service was conducted with a spirit and propriety which might have put many of our most enlightened congregations to blush."<sup>16</sup> When he visited these plantations in 1841, he administered the Holy Communion at both places.<sup>17</sup> When he returned in 1843, he examined eighty Negro children "in the oral Catechism and the church service" and it was "peculiarly gratifying," he said, "as fully justifying all my previous convictions of the capacity of such children to understand the principles of the doctrine of Christ, and of the ease with which they may be taught the entire Morning and Evening Prayer." He was also struck by the beauty of the singing which was done "without instrumental accompaniment."<sup>18</sup>

In 1846 Bishop Ives visited the Collins and Pettigrew plantations during the Lenten season, held daily services, delivered lectures, and

<sup>14</sup>Bishop Ives' leanings toward Roman Catholicism were early suspected, and the period of his episcopate is replete with heated theological controversies between him and various clergymen in his diocese. Doubtless these controversies interfered with the growth of the Church. See Guion G. Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina*, (Chapel Hill, 1937), 335-336, and the *Journals* of the convention from 1832 to 1853.

<sup>15</sup>*Journal*, 1836, 10.

<sup>16</sup>*Journal*, 1838, 12-13. Bishop Ives remarked concerning the examination that it "was minute and thorough; and we had the most unexpected satisfaction of witnessing a promptness and correctness and apparent intelligence of answer to the numerous questions, that would have done credit to any class of catechumens in the Church." *Journal*, 13.

<sup>17</sup>*Journal*, 1841, 19.

<sup>18</sup>*Journal*, 1843, 13.



began a new class in the catechism. Concerning this visit, he remarked,

When I saw master and servants standing side by side in the holy services of Passion Week—when I saw all secular labors on these plantations suspended on Good Friday, and the cleanly clad multitude thronging the house of prayer to pay their homage to a crucified Savior;—and when I saw, on the blessed Easter-morn the master with his goodly company of servants, kneeling with reverent hearts and devout Thanksgivings, to take the Bread of Life at the same altar, I could not but indulge the hope, that ere long, my spirit may be refreshed by such scenes in every part of my diocese.<sup>19</sup>

Bishop Ives did not confine all his interest to Negroes at the Collins and Pettigrew plantations, although these places did claim a considerable portion of his time. In 1838 he preached at the church for free Negroes in New Bern, where he was “deeply affected with the earnest solemnity of the responses, and the touching simplicity and spirit of the chanting and other music.” Concerning the work among free Negroes, the bishop remarked to the Convention:

The question arose in my mind, and with shame for our past neglect, “What might not be done for our colored population throughout the diocese, if each man, who calls himself a Christian churchman, *would do his duty?*” Our free population of colour are literally cast upon us in the slave states for sympathy and encouragement. Let us not disappoint their just expectation. But while we encourage their enterprise, and give a helping hand to their virtuous struggle for temporal comfort, let us not be unmindful of their spiritual wants . . . .<sup>20</sup>

In 1851 Bishop Ives preached to the Negro congregation at Windsor, and was gratified to find the Negro group “so favorably impressed with the ministrations of the Church.”<sup>21</sup> In the same year, he reported that he was glad to find, in his visit to Scotland Neck, that masters were providing for the better instruction of their slaves.<sup>22</sup> In the next report, which proved to be his last before embracing Roman Catholicism, he said that he had spent Sexagesima Sunday officiating to a Negro congregation in Warren County.<sup>23</sup> Ten years before, the bishop had prepared a catechism to be used in the teaching of Negroes, and he could expect a continuation of the work among Negroes even in the areas which he did not visit frequently.

<sup>19</sup>*Journal*, 1846, 13.

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup>*Ibid.*, 1851, 15.

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*, 16.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*, 1852, 17.



In all probability, some planters or other groups objected to the intense interest which Bishop Ives manifested in the work of the Church among Negroes and the apparent success which was rewarding his labors. They were perhaps disturbed at the prospect of seeing Negroes insisting that their spiritual enlightenment brought with it the right to freedom. No one spoke against the activities of Bishop Ives on the floor of the convention, nor is it known that there was any vocal objection in other places; but in 1841 the bishop had the feeling that some of the white communicants took exception to his policy with regard to the work among Negroes. He made his position clear when he said, in his annual report:

Lest any should misapprehend the character and tendency of our efforts in this direction, I wish it distinctly understood, that everything is conducted with a strict regard to the legal enactments on the subject, and under the constant supervision, in each case, of the *planter himself*. In reference also to our exertions hitherto . . . we feel warranted in affirming it to be decidedly favorable to due *subordination*. Cases are not uncommon, in which slaves, who, under a system of mere excitement, had become puffed up with a vain conceit of their spiritual attainments, have immediately upon a distinct and sober exhibition of Gospel truth being made to their minds, manifested an humbling sense of their ignorance, and a grateful desire to be taught more fully "the principles of the doctrine of Christ." To the Christian master, however, alive to his privileges and duties, no doubt can exist on this point. To him it is clear, that a knowledge of Christ crucified, in its fullness, is a blessing which, by command of Almighty God, he is bound to communicate to every immortal being.<sup>24</sup>

Bishop Ives thus vigorously denied that religious work among Negroes would have other than a salutary effect.

During the period of Bishop Ives' episcopate the rectors serving under him manifested an increasing interest in the work among Negroes throughout the diocese. In 1832 the first Negro Episcopal congregation in North Carolina was organized in Fayetteville and was administered by the rector of St. John's Church, the Rev. J. B. Buxton.<sup>25</sup> Later, in the same year, "a congregation of Negroes was organized at Washington, in Beaufort County, by the Rev. William N. Hawks . . . who did much work in the surrounding country." About twelve years later the free Negroes of Washington built a church at their own expense, and Mr. Hawks, who was the rector of St. Luke's Church, served

<sup>24</sup>*Journal*, 1841, 19.

<sup>25</sup>Carraway, *Crown of Life*, 173.

as their rector.<sup>26</sup> In 1833 the Rev. William D. Cairns, rector of St. James' Church in Wilmington, reported to the diocese or convention that a Negro congregation had been organized in his community "with more than anticipated success." To the same convention, the Rev. J. R. Goodman, the rector of Christ Church in New Bern, reported that a Negro congregation had been formed in his parish.<sup>27</sup>

The growth of Negro congregations continued. Toward the end of Bishop Ives' incumbency, new groups were still being reported. In 1851 the Rev. Charles A. Maison said that he was ministering to a congregation of Negroes at Williamston, "who appear to be much interested in the services of the Church."<sup>28</sup> In the same year the Rev. Joseph B. Cheshire, who was at Trinity Church in Scotland Neck, reported that twice each month he officiated at the services of a Negro congregation in "a large and commodious chapel" built for them by white slaveholders.<sup>29</sup>

In addition to the organized congregations of Negro members of the Episcopal Church there were many places which reported special efforts to serve Negroes in connection with the regularly organized white parishes. In Pittsboro the rectors made regular reports of their ministrations to the Negro part of their group. On one occasion, for example, the rector reported that he had presented thirty-five persons for confirmation, "of whom some were colored."<sup>30</sup> In 1842 the missionary in Perquimans County reported that he was giving some attention to the religious life of the Negroes in his area and held services for them whenever possible.<sup>31</sup> Professor William Green of the University of North Carolina reported in 1843 that he had served a large number of slave communicants in his work at Salem Chapel, but complained that the work was so heavy that it required "the exclusive labors of a missionary."<sup>32</sup>

When the Rev. Thomas Atkinson of Baltimore was consecrated bishop of the diocese of North Carolina in 1853 he entered a situation in which a positive interest in the religious life of the Negroes had been increased during the two preceding decades. His utterances and his activities show that he firmly believed that the Church had a definite

<sup>26</sup>Haywood, *Lives of the Bishops*, 101. This Mr. Hawks was the brother of Bishop C. S. Hawks, of Missouri, and of the Rev. Francis L. Hawks, the well-known historian of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

<sup>27</sup>Haywood, *Lives of the Bishops*, 101.

<sup>28</sup>*Journal*, 1851, 32.

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*, 31.

<sup>30</sup>R. G. Shannonhouse, *History of St. Bartholomew's Parish*, (Pittsboro, 1933), 7.

<sup>31</sup>*Journal*, 1842, 33.

<sup>32</sup>*Ibid.*, 1843, 25.

responsibility in connection with the religious life of Negroes. In his primary charge delivered at the diocesan convention in Warrenton in 1855, Bishop Atkinson made it clear that the same kind of services should be held for Negroes that was being held for whites. He indicated that he was not satisfied with the work of the Church when he asserted that the Episcopal Church was too much the Church of one class, being composed largely of professional men, merchants, large land-owners, official persons, and retired men of fortune. He insisted that it should also have mechanics, petty shopkeepers, small farmers, and overseers in its membership. Then he inquired, "Where among us, alas! too frequently are our own slaves? Others are taking care of their souls, or they go uncared for. Surely this ought not to be; this must not continue."<sup>33</sup>

Bishop Atkinson gave time and attention to the religious life of Negroes in many of the communities which he visited; and his annual reports to the diocesan convention attest to this fact. He made a regular practice of informing the convention of the various contacts which he had with the Negro population, and it seems, from his remarks, that he took some pride in this phase of his activities. In 1853 he confirmed several persons in Oxford, some of whom were Negroes. In the same report, he spoke of baptizing a Negro woman in Henderson and of preaching to and confirming thirteen slaves on Burgwyn's plantation near Jackson.<sup>34</sup> In April, 1854, he held a service especially for the Negro Episcopalians of Elizabeth City, where he had confirmed five Negroes earlier in the day. His remarks reveal the favorable impression which this experience made on him:

The labors of Mr Forbes [the rector] . . . among the young people and the persons of color in his congregation, appeared to me to be exceedingly zealous, judicious, and effective.<sup>35</sup>

In the following year, 1855, Bishop Atkinson held several services for Negro congregations at Oxford and Asheville and in Beaufort County.<sup>36</sup> In the next year he reported that of the 271 persons whom he had confirmed, sixty-four were Negroes.<sup>37</sup> On such occasions he would often conduct the services and preach a sermon. He praised several ministers and laymen for their diligent efforts to improve the

<sup>33</sup>Bishop Thomas Atkinson, *Primary Charge of the Rt. Rev. Thomas Atkinson, Bishop of North Carolina, to the Clergy*. (Fayetteville, 1855), 6-8.

<sup>34</sup>*Journal*, 1854, 13-16.

<sup>35</sup>*Ibid.*, 17.

<sup>36</sup>*Ibid.*, 1855, 13-17.

<sup>37</sup>*Ibid.*, 1856, 28.

religious life of Negroes in their communities.<sup>38</sup> Perhaps one of the most significant manifestations of his interest in the work among Negroes was his administration of the rite of confirmation to fifteen Negroes and ten whites at the meeting of the diocesan convention in Edenton in 1858.<sup>39</sup>

Bishop Atkinson continued the visitations to the Pettigrew and Collins plantations which Bishop Ives had begun. His visits were almost yearly, and some of his impressions are worthy of note. In 1857 when he administered the holy communion to more than a hundred slaves at the Lake Chapel, the place of worship for the two plantations, he said, "I think it is right to say here that the more I have seen the effects of the system pursued in that congregation, the better I am pleased with it."<sup>40</sup> At the next convention he reported that he had confirmed twenty-eight Negroes in the "beautiful" Lake Chapel and remarked that the accommodations for the Negro congregation were "unusually good."<sup>41</sup>

Between 1853 and the end of the ante-bellum period, it seems that the interest of the white rectors in the Negro portions of their congregations continued to increase, despite the growing antagonism between the sections and the increased circumscription of the Negroes. Their reports reflect not only a growing interest but also some improvements and some tangible results. The rector of the church at Jackson reported to the convention in 1853 that each Sunday evening was set aside for the services for Negroes and that "the fourth Sunday, as well as each Thursday evening in the month, is given to the instruction of a large colored congregation on the plantation of H. K. Burgwyn . . ."<sup>42</sup> By 1855 the Rev. Peyton Gallagher of Clinton was holding services for Negroes on Sunday and Friday evenings.<sup>43</sup> The same year the minister at Oxford reported that "services for the colored people are held on alternate Sundays, in the afternoon, when their children are catechized after the second lesson."<sup>44</sup> In 1858 the Rev. H. H. Prout of Williamsborough reported that on each Sunday "the evening service is devoted to the colored congregation, and the church is generally well filled." He followed the same practice in his other church at Henderson.<sup>45</sup> The rector at Wilmington held an afternoon service each Sun-

<sup>38</sup>*Journal*, 1856, 14, 25.

<sup>39</sup>*Ibid.*, 1858, 15, 61.

<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*, 1857, 24.

<sup>41</sup>*Ibid.*, 1858, 20.

<sup>42</sup>*Ibid.*, 1853, 35.

<sup>43</sup>*Ibid.*, 1855, 43.

<sup>44</sup>*Ibid.*, 35.

<sup>45</sup>*Ibid.*, 1858, 47-48.

day expressly for the Negroes of his congregation. There was also a Negro Sunday school in his parish.<sup>46</sup> Although the venerable minister of the church at Fayetteville felt that the Negroes should have special services, he complained that he did not have the physical strength to undertake such a program in addition to the two services held for the whites.<sup>47</sup>

What effect did the activities and labors of these clergy and bishops have on the growth in Negro membership? There is no way of forming even a rough idea of the number of Negro Episcopalians at the time of the organization of the diocese of North Carolina in 1823. There were doubtless some Negro Episcopalians because of the long establishment of the Anglican Church during the colonial period. But as there had been a considerable decline of Anglicanism among the whites during the early years of the national period, one can assume that the same trend existed among the Negroes. Shortly after the organization of the diocese, the bishop and clergy alike took a lively interest in the Negroes of North Carolina, with the result that the number of Negro Episcopalians grew steadily.

In 1841, the first year when anything resembling a complete numerical picture of communicants for the entire diocese is available, several churches reported Negro members. The number of Negro communicants reported in that year was 145, of which seventy were reported from the predominantly Negro church on the Pettigrew and Collins plantations in Washington County. In that year alone, thirty-four received the rite of confirmation. Other Negroes had Episcopalian affiliations of one kind or another, however. The Church had baptized 185 Negroes, several of whom were adults, and there was an undetermined number in catechism classes throughout the state.<sup>48</sup> North Carolina leaders were by no means satisfied with the small number of Negro communicants, and before the end of the decade they made known their dissatisfaction. In 1848 the committee on the state of the Church made the following observation in its report to the diocesan convention:

The Committee observe that the reported number of colored catechumens is small; smaller, they are inclined to believe, than the real number. The religious wants of this part of our population claim strongly the attention of both the clergy and the laity. Our duty to our servants is not done by barely allowing them to receive some religious instruction in whatever quarter they may choose to find it. The sober piety

<sup>46</sup>*Journal*, 1860, 46.

<sup>47</sup>*Journal*, 1855, 26; and *Journal*, 1856, 32.

<sup>48</sup>These figures were gathered from various parts of the *Journal* for 1841.



that is inspired by the services of the church . . . furnish reasons enough to induce every member of it to desire . . . to bring them into the "one fold" and under the "one Shepherd." And surely the master, who calls himself a Churchman, falls far short of his duty, if he neglects to have his servants duly baptized, catechized and trained in all methods of the Church. . . .<sup>49</sup>

The number of Negro communicants grew steadily. In 1851 several churches which had not reported any Negro members in 1841 reported Negro communicants. The Church of the Savior at Jackson had twelve Negro communicants in 1851 while St. Paul's at Edenton reported forty-three.<sup>50</sup> The number of catechumens and those baptized also showed an increase. By 1857 the committee on the state of the Church could make a better report than it had made in the previous decade, but it was still not satisfied with this phase of the work. It reported that fifty-three Negroes had been baptized, of whom twenty-five were adults; the rite of confirmation had been administered to sixty-three Negroes; there were 488 Negro catechumens; and out of 2,341 communicants in the diocese, 345 were Negroes. But the committee made the following observation:

Considering the opportunities of the Church . . . the number of colored catechumens reported is smaller than might reasonably be expected from the zeal of the members of the Church. They trust that the members of the Convention will, in their several spheres, urge forward the Christian instruction of the colored class, so entirely committed by Providence to the superintending care of the educated members of the church, and so dependent upon their benevolence and Christian love.<sup>51</sup>

In the remaining years of the period the committee could find little over which to be joyful in its report on the work of the Church among Negroes. By 1859 the number of catechumens had actually declined from 488 in 1857 to 351, while the number of Negro communicants showed a net increase of only eight.<sup>52</sup> By 1861 there were 512 Negro catechumens in the diocese and 395 Negro communicants.<sup>53</sup>

It is difficult to believe that the number of Negro Episcopalians in the diocese of North Carolina never rose to 400 in the ante-bellum period. There are several indications that many ministers did not look upon Negro communicants as *bona fide* members of their flock and,

<sup>49</sup>*Journal*, 1848, 37.

<sup>50</sup>*Ibid.*, 1851, 35 and 23.

<sup>51</sup>*Ibid.*, 1857, 69-70.

<sup>52</sup>*Ibid.*, 1859, 61.

<sup>53</sup>*Ibid.*, 1861.

therefore, did not list them in their reports to the diocesan conventions. It will be recalled that the committee on the state of the Church implied, in 1848, that there might be some discrepancy between the number of Negro catechumens reported and the actual number. What was true of catechumens might also have been true of communicants. On a number of occasions, rectors of churches reported that Negroes had been confirmed but did not list any Negroes as communicants. In 1856 the rector of the church at Wadesborough reported that seven Negroes had been confirmed during the year but reported no Negro communicants in that or in any other year.<sup>54</sup> In 1851 two Negroes were confirmed in Holy Trinity Church at Hertford, but only white communicants were ever reported to the diocesan convention.<sup>55</sup>

In several instances the report of the bishop regarding Negro Episcopalians was at variance with the report of the rector. In 1854 Bishop Atkinson reported that he had confirmed five colored persons at Christ Church in Elizabeth City; yet, in the following year no Negroes were reported as communicants in that parish.<sup>56</sup> No Negroes were ever reported as communicants at Calvary Church in Henderson County, despite the fact that on one occasion in 1858 Bishop Atkinson confirmed three Negroes there.<sup>57</sup> There were occasions, moreover, when the bishop's confirmation figures did not correspond with the aggregate report of confirmations made by individual rectors. In 1856 Bishop Atkinson asserted that he had confirmed sixty-four Negroes, while the committee on the state of the Church said that rectors reported sixty-two such confirmations.<sup>58</sup>

The bishops of the diocese seemed always willing to accommodate slaveholders by visiting their plantations, administering the rite of confirmation, and placing that plantation under one of the missionary clergy. Although the bishop confirmed Negroes on several such plantations, they were not reported as communicants.<sup>59</sup>

From the considerable number of catechumens reported each year by the rectors, one could reasonably expect that the number of communicants would be augmented by prepared candidates. Although most of the rectors took considerable interest in catechizing Negroes, there seemed to have been no enthusiasm about having these persons confirmed. It is quite possible, therefore, that many Negroes, adequately

<sup>54</sup>*Journal*, 1856, 50.

<sup>55</sup>*Ibid.*, 1851, 36.

<sup>56</sup>*Ibid.*, 1854, 17; and *Journal* for 1855.

<sup>57</sup>*Ibid.*, 1858, 16.

<sup>58</sup>*Ibid.*, 1856, 28 and 67.

<sup>59</sup>The exception is, of course, the chapel at Lake Scuppernong, which was built by Messrs. Pettigrew and Collins for their slaves and which, by 1861, had its own rector.

prepared for confirmation, were never presented to the bishop. Certainly, the slaves on Dr. Beatty's plantation, in 1855, showed by their "devout demeanor, close attention, and earnest desire to come to the knowledge of the truth" that they were rapidly becoming worthy of confirmation; but only three were confirmed, and not even these were reported as communicants in the missionary's report.<sup>60</sup>

From the marked emphasis on classes of instruction, there seemed to be the opinion on the part of a majority of the rectors in the diocese that when such classes had been held, their obligations to the Negro element had been fulfilled. Almost every rector reported that he instructed Negroes either in his church or on plantations. Generally, there was praise for the Negro's interest in the Church and their aptness in understanding the basic principles of the faith. But too seldom did their manifestation of interest and devotion lead to their incorporation into the fellowship of the Church. Only thirty-three of the sixty-two Episcopal churches had any Negro communicants in 1861. The 395 Negro communicants in that year, with 180 at one church, doubtless represented only a small minority of the Negroes whose religious life was tied up with the Episcopal church. Many remained "catechumens," while others who had been confirmed and received into the fellowship of the faith were not counted among the regular communicants of the Church.

The Episcopalians of the diocese sought to accommodate the Negroes under their care by providing not only spiritual leaders, but adequate places of worship. There were many who entertained the point of view that services for Negroes should not be conducted as they were for the whites. This view was shared by those who felt that the Negro was mentally inferior and those who felt that because of the Negro's degraded status, the message of the Church should be extended to them with that in mind. These persons, therefore, favored either a separate church building or special services held for Negroes in the building used by the whites.

There were several Negro congregations in ante-bellum North Carolina. They were usually identified, through the rector, with the white congregation. It may be recalled that as early as 1832 there was such a group at Fayetteville, and in 1833, Bishop Ives visited it and found it in a "flourishing condition."<sup>61</sup>

Reference has also been made to the congregation of Negroes which was organized at Washington by the Rev. W. N. Hawks.<sup>62</sup> By 1845

<sup>60</sup>*Journal*, 1855, 43, and *Journal*, 1856, 21.

<sup>61</sup>Carraway, *Crown of Life*, 173.

<sup>62</sup>*Cf. ante*, 221.

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a Negro congregation had been organized at New Bern with seventy Negro communicants.<sup>63</sup> Among the more frequently mentioned Negro congregations were those at Wadesborough,<sup>64</sup> Edenton,<sup>65</sup> Jackson,<sup>66</sup> Elizabeth City,<sup>67</sup> Oxford,<sup>68</sup> Williamsborough, and Henderson.<sup>69</sup> Only a few of these congregations had edifices of their own. The Negroes of Washington had their own building, as did a few of the other groups. The usual practice, however, was to use the building of the white congregation when the white communicants were not using it. Services for Negroes were held either immediately after the regular morning services, in mid-afternoon, or in the evenings. In addition to conducting these worship services, some rectors set aside one evening during the week for the instruction of slaves in the Scriptures, etc.

Although the "due subordination" to which Bishop Ives made reference could best be effected through special services for slaves, this was not always possible. The heavy schedule of the overworked rector or missionary, the indifference of the spiritual leader to the Negro, or the belief that the Negro required no special services for the interpretation of the Christian faith were factors any one of which might deter the rector from holding services exclusively for Negroes. In such instances a special section was reserved for Negroes or a balcony was built to accommodate them. In reviewing the work of the Church among Negroes in antebellum North Carolina, Bishop Strange remarked:

In the Church we had no colored ministers;<sup>70</sup> but the Negroes worshiped with us in separate parts of the same church building, and the white clergyman felt responsible for the black portion of his flock. In many churches . . . the white people sat in the front pews in the morning and the Negroes in the back. . . . At the Holy Communion and at Confirmation, whites and blacks came together—the whites generally first . . . .<sup>71</sup>

In Edenton the problem of accommodating the Negro communi-

<sup>63</sup>Carraway, *Crown of Life*, 151.

<sup>64</sup>*Journal*, 1836, 10.

<sup>65</sup>Jno. W. Graham, *History of St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Edenton, N. C.* (Edenton, 1936), 14.

<sup>66</sup>*Journal*, 1853, 35.

<sup>67</sup>*Ibid.*, 1854, 17.

<sup>68</sup>*Ibid.*, 1855, 35.

<sup>69</sup>*Ibid.*, 1858, 47-48.

<sup>70</sup>In 1855 the *New York Times* carried an item in which it made reference to a Rev. Robert Green, a free Negro minister in good standing with the Episcopal Church of North Carolina. This Rev. Mr. Green was attempting to raise a fund with which to purchase and manumit his slave children. The diocesan journals make no mention of any such person, however. Cf. John Hope Franklin, *The Free Negro in North Carolina, 1790-1860* (Chapel Hill, 1943), 31, 182.

<sup>71</sup>Robert Strange, *Church Work Among the Negroes in the South* [N. D.], 11.

cants was apparently the subject of considerable discussion in 1840 and 1841. In 1840 the vestry considered a proposition "to erect a flight of stairs in the southwest end of the church leading to the south gallery" which was to be reserved for Negroes. In the following year the vestry "adopted resolutions in regard to use by colored people of certain pews in the main body of the church and also considered the matter of a subscription to raise funds for the purpose of erecting a building for the colored population to worship in."<sup>72</sup> The records of the period do not yield one instance of the Negro's having been accepted as a Christian without the limitations which the social and economic organization had placed upon him. In the records it is fairly clear that the Negro was first of all a Negro and then a Christian.

Negro Episcopalians, and those under the influence of the Church, could enjoy most of the ministrations which the white communicants enjoyed. Many Negro children and adults were baptized annually by members of the Episcopal ministry. Only a relatively small proportion of these whose first religious experience was in the Episcopal Church became Episcopalians. The records seem to bear out the impression that the ministry felt that this was an important ministration in itself; and it is doubted that it was withheld from any Negroes where there was no objection by the slaveholders. Rectors who had neither Negro catechists nor communicants reported that they baptized large numbers of Negroes, both children and adults. This service was being extended toward the end of the ante-bellum period.<sup>73</sup> Reference has already been made to the activities of the bishops and the clergy in teaching Negroes and in administering the rite of confirmation to them. It is only necessary to add here that as far as catechists were concerned, the number was steadily increasing by the end of the period.<sup>74</sup>

It is reasonable to assume that a considerable number of Negroes under the influence of the Episcopal Church learned to read and to write. It may be recalled that in 1841 Bishop Ives prepared a catechism for the use of Negro Episcopalians. Although this text was to be used by the teachers of children, it is not difficult to believe that some of the pupils learned the fundamentals of reading as well as the rudiments of the Episcopal doctrine. Perhaps some of the white communicants were not opposed to the teaching of Negroes to read and write, for it had been a part of the program of the Anglicans in the colonial period. In 1753 the Rev. Alexander Stewart, a missionary of the Society for the Propa-

<sup>72</sup>Graham, *History of St. Paul's*, 14.

<sup>73</sup>A careful study of the reports of the rectors from 1840 to 1860 reveals this trend.

<sup>74</sup>With the exception of the rather sharp decline in 1858-59. Cf. *ante*, p. 226.



gation of the Gospel, set up a school and paid a school-mistress to teach Indian and Negro children to read, and supplied them with books.<sup>75</sup>

It is interesting to observe that during the last twenty years of the period, a larger and larger number of Negro Episcopalians were being married in the Church by the clergy. In 1841 only three Negro couples were reported to the diocesan convention as having been married by Episcopal clergymen. Ten years later there were fourteen such marriages, while in 1861, twenty-two such marriages were reported by the Episcopal clergy.<sup>76</sup> That the religious marriage of Negroes had gained complete respectability and official sanction is seen in the performance of such rites by the bishop himself. In 1857 Bishop Atkinson reported that he had "celebrated one marriage of colored persons" at Wilmington, and in the following year he performed a similar ceremony for two Negro couples in the same town.<sup>77</sup>

Upon their death Negro Episcopalians could expect a funeral service to be conducted by the rector. Although it is not possible to ascertain from the records whether or not the rites were performed over those Negroes who were merely "catechumens" or had only been baptized in the Church, there is no doubt that communicants received the rite of burial. In 1861 eleven rectors reported that they had conducted funerals for eighty-two Negro Episcopalians, the highest number in any single year prior to the Civil War.<sup>78</sup> Certainly not all of the Negro Episcopalians who died were held in as high esteem as the sexton of the church at Fayetteville, but the remarks made by the rector show the respect and regard that it was possible for such a person to enjoy:

On Sunday last I preached to a very large and deeply attentive colored congregation, on the occasion of the burial of the colored sexton of this parish. He had acted in that capacity from the organization of the parish in 1817, and for many years had been a communicant in the Church, and died in the comfortable faith of the Gospel.<sup>79</sup>

Thus it was that Negro Episcopalians communed as fellows in the Christian faith. The Episcopal Church maintained some semblance of vigilance over them from birth to death, and the bishop and clergy approached the problem of their black brethren with growing interest as

<sup>75</sup>Joseph B. Cheshire, *Sketches of Church History in North Carolina* (Wilmington, 1892), 73.

<sup>76</sup>These statistics were gathered from the reports of the clergy in the *Journals* for those years.

<sup>77</sup>*Journal*, 1857, 23, and *Journal*, 1858, 20.

<sup>78</sup>Gathered from the reports of rectors at the diocesan convention in 1861, *Journal*, 1861, *Passim*.

<sup>79</sup>*Journal*, 1861, 34.



the period came to a close. If Negro Episcopalians were sometimes regarded more as step-brothers than as brothers, what with segregation in the chancel and at the altar and with sermons designed to bring about "due subordination," it was perhaps because the Church, just as the other social institutions of the period, was subservient to the powerful political and economic forces that did so much to shape the history of the period.

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## THE RECOVERY OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN UP-STATE NEW YORK AFTER THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

*By George E. DeMille\**

### I

THE story of the recovery of the Episcopal Church in upstate New York after the American Revolution is one of interest and inspiration. Before the war, the Church had established itself in five places: Queen Anne's Chapel, Fort Hunter; Sir William Johnson's chapel at Indian Castle; St. Peter's, Albany; St. George's, Schenectady; and St. John's, Johnstown. The war brought ruin to all; the churches were closed, the incumbents driven out, and in some cases the buildings were seized by other denominations.

For over a decade after the war the light of the Church remained hidden. But certain events were taking place outside the area under consideration which were to have a vital effect on the revival of Church life within it. The clergy of the province had long been used to holding synodal assemblies; it was therefore easy and natural for them to organize after the war. In 1785, the convention of the diocese of New York first met; its organization was completed by the election of Samuel Provoost<sup>1</sup> as bishop, and by his consecration in England in 1787. True, he was no great leader of a reviving Church; but he at least was a bishop; he could confirm and ordain.

In St. Peter's, Albany, there were a number of influential laymen, who as soon as the war ended began looking toward a re-opening of

\*The Rev. George E. DeMille is rector of the Church of the Cross, Ticonderoga, New York; author of *The Catholic Movement in the American Episcopal Church* (Philadelphia, Church Historical Society, 1941); and is now engaged in writing the history of the diocese of Albany.—*Editor's note.*

<sup>1</sup>SAMUEL PROVOOST (March 11, 1742-September 6, 1815). Consecrated first bishop of New York, February 4, 1787, by the English archbishops; third in the American line. Resigned jurisdiction, 1801. See E. C. Chorley, *Samuel Provoost, First Bishop of New York*, in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH*, Vol. II (1933), June (pp. 1-25), September (pp. 1-16).

the church doors. In 1785 the Rev. John Doty,<sup>2</sup> who had been driven from Schenectady during the war, was in the city and there performed two baptisms. The incident is important as showing that in the minds of churchmen the divisions of the war were rapidly being forgotten. In 1787 there arrived in Albany the Rev. Thomas Ellison,<sup>3</sup> a young English priest, and on May 1 of that year he was called to be rector of St. Peter's. The funds of the S. P. G. being no longer available, the parish was now faced with the novel task of providing for the full support of its rector. A subscription list was circulated, and a little under four hundred dollars was pledged for the purpose. This was in itself a long step forward.

On Christmas Day, 1787, the rector administered the Holy Communion to thirty communicants, noting that "this was the first time of its being administered in St. Peter's Church since the commencement of the Revolution." On Nov. 4, 1788, he sat in the diocesan convention for the first time. In 1789 he was chosen as a delegate to General Convention. Finally, on Sunday, September 11, 1791, Bishop Provoost preached in the parish church—the first time the eighty-year old building had ever seen a bishop within its walls. "On Wednesday, September 14, the rector presented one hundred and forty-seven persons to receive the apostolic rite of laying on of hands. Grey haired men and women who had been for many years communicants, and young men and maidens, welcomed the opportunity of receiving the seal of the Lord in confirmation. Among those confirmed were eleven persons of colour." With such a step as this, the future of St. Peter's was assured.

As the only priest living within the upper Hudson and Mohawk valleys, it fell to the lot of Mr. Ellison to do a great deal of work outside the confines of his parish. In 1787 he preached to a congregation of churchmen in the Dutch church at Kinderhook. In the same year, he helped Mr. John Brown and others to repair the half ruined church at Schenectady, and for several years this parish was practically under his care. He recommended that the convention of the diocese recognize the parish just coming into existence at Balltown. He was active in reclaiming the glebe at Fort Hunter, which had been illegally seized

<sup>2</sup>JOHN DOTY (May 8, 1745-November 23, 1841). Born in Albany, New York. King's College, three years. Ordained deacon, October 23, 1770; priest, January 1, 1771, by Dr. Philip Yonge, bishop of Norwich. S. P. G. missionary in province of New York. After the war he served the Church in Canada, dying at the age of 96. See J. W. Lydekker, *The Reverend John Doty*, in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH*, Vol. VII (1938), pp. 287-300.

<sup>3</sup>THOMAS ELLISON (d. April 26, 1802) was born in England and educated at the University of Cambridge. "He was a man of great wit, of a genial disposition, and a favorite in social life."

during the war. In 1789 he made an extended trip to Unadilla, on which he reported to Bishop Provoost:

"The distance I went was one hundred and twelve miles, a journey of four days, through a very wild country, which afforded most uncomfortable accommodations; but it afforded me a very high degree of pleasure to find that many of our Church were scattered throughout, who would not relinquish the hope of being able at some, though distant, period to see churches established."

Ellison's efforts at Schenectady rapidly bore fruit. In 1790 the parish was incorporated under the laws of the state of New York. By 1791, the parish was demanding more attention than Mr. Ellison could very well give it; an arrangement was therefore made that Ammi Rogers, then working as a lay reader in the newly formed parish of Balltown (now Ballston Spa), should give half of his time to St. George's. This arrangement was improved when Rogers was ordered deacon in 1792. So effective was Rogers' work that between June, 1792, and October, 1793, the parish records show one hundred and thirty baptisms, twenty marriages, and five burials. On Sunday, September 18, 1791, Bishop Provoost extended his trip to Albany to make the first episcopal visitation at Schenectady. An ordination was held, and the next day fifty-three persons were confirmed. Rogers continued in charge of the parish until 1795, when for a time it fell back into the hands of Mr. Ellison.

Meanwhile a parish had been started in a neighboring village whose fate for a time was to be tied to that of St. George's. The Hon. James Duane, first mayor of New York, a vestryman of Trinity Parish, and a frequent delegate to the diocesan convention, had acquired some fifty thousand acres of wild land in the southern part of Schenectady County. Here he proposed to set up an estate after the model of the Dutch patroons. Like Johnson, he felt that a church was an essential part of his plan. He therefore erected Christ Church, Duanesburg, which was duly consecrated on August 25, 1793. The church still stands, practically the only one of the old churches of the present diocese of Albany which has escaped the hands of the improver. In 1795 the Rev. David Belden<sup>4</sup> became the first rector. In the same year the parish, which had been incorporated in 1789, was admitted into union with the convention of the diocese. Belden was succeeded in 1798 by the Rev. Robert Wet-

<sup>4</sup>DAVID BELDEN (July 16 [or 19], 1764-March 2, 1832). Yale, 1785. Ordained deacon by Bishop Seabury, September 21, 1786; never priested. Ill health (he died of consumption) compelled him to relinquish the active ministry and he retired to his farm in Wilton, Connecticut, where he died in his 68th year. See F. B. Dexter, *Yale Biographies*, IV., p. 386.

more,<sup>5</sup> who also acted as rector of St. George's. Ill health compelled his resignation in 1801, and for three years the two parishes were again vacant. In 1804 Cyrus Stebbins,<sup>6</sup> a Methodist minister resident in Albany, was looking forward to orders in the Episcopal Church. For two years he officiated acceptably in St. George's as a lay-reader. So well-pleasing did he prove to be that on the recommendation of the parish he was ordained deacon in 1805, and called as rector on April 22, 1806. With him the regular succession of rectors of St. George's may be said to begin.

The church and the glebe at Johnstown had been seized during the Revolution by the Presbyterians, who during this period were the inveterate enemies of our Church. This seizure was legalized by the legislature in 1793, when an act was passed granting the church and glebe to the trustees of the Presbyterian congregation. Episcopalians and Lutherans, however, were to be allowed the use of the church for eight Sundays in the year, provided ten members of either group petitioned for it. In Ellison's *Notitia Parochialis* it is recorded that on June 6, 1790, Ellison preached in the courthouse at Johnstown, the Presbyterians refusing to deliver him the key of St. John's Church. The diocese soon began taking steps to revive this parish. In 1791 the Rev. Thomas Oliver<sup>7</sup> is listed in the journal of the diocesan convention as rector of "the united parishes at Johnstown and Fort Hunter." His name never appears in the local records at Johnstown, and it is probable that he never actually served in that capacity. But in 1796 the Rev. John Urquhart<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup>ROBERT GRIFFITH WETMORE (1768-1803), a lawyer of New Rochelle, New York, who was ordered deacon, May 21, 1797, and priest, June 10, 1798, by Bishop Provost. Hon. M. A., Columbia, 1798. As missionary in upstate New York he traveled in one year 2,386 miles; performed divine service and preached 107 times; baptized 46 adults and 365 children; and distributed a large number of copies of the Book of Common Prayer. Bishop Chase wrote of him: "He so roused the people from their lethargy, and excited them to a sense of their religious duties, that in the year following there were incorporated in the State seven new congregations, and divine service began to be performed in many places where people had never attempted it before" (Chase's *Reminiscences*, I., p. 37). This record undermined Wetmore's health, which he never regained. He died in Savannah, Georgia, in his 35th year. The relatively high death rate among the clergy at this time, combined with the scarcity of ordinands, was one of the factors in retarding the Church's recovery. "Consumption" was then the great white plague among both clergy and laity.

<sup>6</sup>CYRUS STEBBINS (died February 8, 1841). Ordained deacon, April 28, 1805, by Bishop Benjamin Moore of New York.

<sup>7</sup>THOMAS FITCH OLIVER (1749-January 25, 1797). Native of Salem, Massachusetts. Served as a Congregational Minister at Pelham, Massachusetts. Joined the Episcopal Church and served as lay reader in St. John's Church, Providence, Rhode Island, during last years of the Revolutionary War. Ordained deacon, August 7, 1785, and priest, September 16, 1785, by Bishop Seabury—one of the first ordinations at the hands of an American bishop. St. Michael's, Marblehead, Massachusetts, 1786-1791. In 1795 he became rector of St. Thomas' Church, Baltimore, where he died two years later, aged 48 years.

<sup>8</sup>JOHN URQUHART (died c. 1814). Ordered deacon, October 18, 1795, by Bishop Provost. His last cure was that of Peekskill and Garrison, held jointly.

arrived at Johnstown to begin actual work. The parish was incorporated that year, and a fight began to regain the parish property. It is recorded that on one occasion Urquhart read the Episcopal service in the church while the Presbyterian minister was holding forth in the pulpit. In 1797 the legislature passed a compromise act, which gave the church to the rector, wardens, and vestry of St. John's, and the glebe to the Presbyterian trustees. Presbyterians and Lutherans were also to have a limited use of the church building for three years. Eventually, the legislature granted the parish twenty-four hundred dollars as compensation for the loss of the glebe. Under Jonathan Judd,<sup>9</sup> who succeeded Urquhart as rector in 1806, the ancient and partly ruined chapel at Fort Hunter was for a time re-opened for services. But the Mohawks for whom it was built had gone, the white population had shifted, and this, in some sense the mother church of the diocese of Albany, was eventually torn down.

## II

The remarkable expansion of the Episcopal Church in upstate New York, an expansion which began about 1790 and continued without slackening for three decades, was influenced by three factors. In 1791 a revival movement, known in American history as the "Second Awakening," started in Maine and swept like wild-fire through the inhabited portions of the United States. In this revival of religious life the Episcopal Church had its share. But revivals are of little use without organizations to gather in the fruits. In 1790 the convention of the diocese of New York began to show awareness of its missionary responsibility and opportunity, directing by resolution that missionary donations should be solicited throughout the diocese. In 1797 a Committee for the Propagation of the Gospel in the State of New York was created to handle such funds as should be collected. This committee immediately began active work. But the chief of the three factors contributing to this expansion was the coming into the territory under consideration of three remarkable men—Philander Chase, Ammi Rogers, and Daniel Nash.

One day in the fall of 1795 a tall, powerfully-built young man, obviously rural in origin, walked up State Street, Albany, and knocked at the door of the Rev. Mr. Ellison. His name was Philander Chase.<sup>10</sup> He

<sup>9</sup>JONATHAN JUDD (died c. 1838, aged 56). Ordered deacon February 8, 1804, by Bishop Moore of New York.

<sup>10</sup>PHILANDER CHASE (December 14, 1775-September 20, 1852). Youngest of fourteen children. Reared a Congregationalist. First bishop of Ohio, 1819-1831; first bishop of Illinois, 1835-1852. Founder of two colleges: Kenyon in Ohio, and Jubilee in Illinois. See William B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, V., 453-462; *Reminiscences*, 2 vols.; *Dictionary of American Biography*, IV., 26-27; George F. Smythe, *History of the Diocese of Ohio*.



was recently graduated from Dartmouth College, had made himself a convert by reading the Book of Common Prayer, and was now desirous of studying for holy orders. Ellison received him cordially, secured for him a teaching position in the city school, and gave him the run of a good theological library. Under Ellison's direction Chase at once began to act as lay reader in the neighboring communities of Lansingburg and Troy. Troy was then a tiny but growing village, where "all the denominations then met in one house, and the afternoon of Sunday was assigned for the service of the Church." After this preliminary tryout, in 1798 Chase was ordained deacon and at once commissioned by the Missionary Society to work in the northern and western parts of the state. Starting out from Albany, Chase worked up the Hudson, holding services at Waterford, Stillwater, Fort Edward, Kingsbury, and Lake George. From there he plunged into the Adirondack wilderness, and spent some time at Thurman's Patent, now Warrensburg, where he organized a parish. Proceeding east to Hampton, on the Vermont border, he there organized a second parish, which was to prove the mother of churches in two counties.

A second trip started from Albany and followed the Mohawk west. A stop was made at Indian Castle, where Chase preached in the dilapidated Indian Church, and remarked that even the white settlers there had become very few. Turning aside to Johnstown, he "had the pleasure of beholding a goodly stone church with an organ." Going as far west as Auburn, which takes him out of the bounds of our survey, he returned southeast to Burlington, in Ostego County, where he met Daniel Nash, of whom we shall hear later. With Nash he visited the neighboring missions, and then set out again east by himself. At Ocwaga he erected a parish, and in Stamford, now Hobart, contributed one hundred dollars of his scanty missionary stipend toward building a church. At Batavia, now Ashland, he organized a parish; then struck the Hudson at Athens. Hudson and Lebanon, east of the river, were visited; here Chase came in contact with the pre-revolutionary missionary work of Gideon Bostwick. In 1799 Chase arrived in New York City and was ordained priest. On this trip he had traveled above four thousand miles, baptized fourteen adults and three hundred and nineteen children, performed divine service and preached two hundred and thirteen times, and organized five new parishes. Surely a year's work.

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## III

Still more important for the growth of the Church in this section was the work of that rather enigmatical figure, Ammi Rogers.<sup>11</sup> In the history of the diocese of Connecticut he is accounted as one of the black sheep; he was eventually, after a stormy career, degraded from the priesthood and imprisoned by the civil courts for a sexual crime; but within our territory he was an enthusiastic and successful missionary. One of the many Yale graduates to be converted from Congregationalism, he came to Albany in 1791. Working at first under the Rev. Mr. Ellison, he was placed as a lay reader in Schenectady and Ballston. In the latter place a group of laymen had already, in 1787, organized themselves as a parish, and applied to the convention of the diocese to be admitted into union. Under Rogers' energetic leadership, Christ Church, Ballston Center, was built in 1791; and at the same time he was given temporary charge of St. George's, Schenectady. Ordained deacon by Bishop Provoost in 1792, he was at once called as rector of the church in Ballston. He was married and ordained priest in 1794. He thus summarized his work in this region:

"I had devoted myself entirely to the work of the ministry. In the county of Saratoga, my people had increased from about 14 families to about 4000 souls: they had built a new church in Ballston and finished it with an elegant steeple, bell, and organ. They had become incorporate, and built a new church with a handsome steeple in the town of Milton, and also in the town of Stillwater.— In Waterford they had become a body corporate, and a large number had joined that society; a very respectable society was also collected in Charlton and in Galway, and in other parts of that county. I had some time before resigned my parish in Schenectady . . . and my labors were extended to Fort Hunter and to Johnstown."

He claimed to have performed fifteen hundred and forty-two baptisms, two hundred marriages, and to have admitted four hundred to the Holy Communion. While his figures are to be received with some caution, there is no question that his work was widespread and successful. Although the principal area of his work was in Saratoga County, we have seen from his own statement that he had some share in the revival of Johnstown; he officiated for a time in Schenectady; he had a hand in the organization of Zion Church, Morris. In 1800

<sup>11</sup>AMMI ROGERS (May 26, 1770-April 10, 1852). Born in Branford, Connecticut. Yale, 1790. Ordained deacon, June 24, 1792, and priest, October 19, 1794, by Bishop Provoost. See F. B. Dexter, *Yale Biographies*, IV., 686-690; E. E. Beardsley, *History of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut*, II (index *passim*).

he made a missionary trip to the north country, visiting Chase's foundation at Thurman's Patent, and working also in Queensbury, now Glens Falls, and in Ticonderoga. In 1801, in an evil hour for himself, he resigned his charges and returned to Connecticut. On his way down the Hudson he found that the people of Catskill were in process of erecting a church; he therefore returned and assisted in the completion of this work. In 1852, a disgraced and broken old man, he came back to Ballston to die.

The church in Ballston was thus the first new parish to be organized in the upstate area after the Revolution. The present parish is the result of an amalgamation. Rogers' parish was at Ballston Center. Here he was followed in rapid succession by Gamaliel Thatcher, Jonathan Judd, and Frederick Van Horne, the last of whom ministered to the other parishes established by Rogers. In 1805 the Rev. Joseph Perry<sup>12</sup> began to hold services at Ballston Spa, then becoming a celebrated watering place. In 1810, St. Paul's, Ballston Spa, was organized. Finally, in 1817, the parishes of Ballston Center and Ballston Spa were united as Christ Church, Ballston Spa. The church building at Ballston Center was taken down and re-erected at Ballston Spa, and was consecrated August 11, 1818, by Bishop Hobart. Some three decades later St. James' Church, Milton, was added to the centralization. Of the other parishes founded by Rogers, Waterford, Stillwater, and Charlton still exist. St. Paul's Church, Charlton, built in 1803, just after Rogers' departure, still remains in much its original state.

The third of the great church builders of this era, and as far as this region is concerned, the greatest of all, was Daniel Nash.<sup>13</sup> Like many of the pioneer missionaries of our country, he was a giant in stature, with the rugged health which was then almost an essential of successful missionary work. Born in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, he was converted from Congregationalism after he left Yale in 1785. He studied theology under the Rev. John Croes, of Swedesborough, New Jersey, later first bishop of New Jersey. He arrived in Otsego County, the scene of his missionary labors, in 1797, being then in deacon's orders. On his way from the east, he had gone to visit Bishop Provoost, with a view to being ordained priest. Provoost, elegant, sluggish, and defeatist, endeavored to dissuade the young enthusiast from throwing himself away amid the hardships of frontier life; whereupon Nash, to whom such supineness in the episcopate was incomprehensi-

<sup>12</sup>See below, Footnote No. 25, for Perry.

<sup>13</sup>DANIEL NASH (May 28, 1763-June 4, 1836). Yale, 1785. Ordered deacon, February 8, 1797, by Bishop Provoost; priest, October 11, 1801, by Bishop Moore. See Dexter, *Yale Biographies*, IV, 431-432; Sprague, V, 433-440; *D. A. B.*, XIII, 386.

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ble, left in great indignation, vowing never to receive priest's orders at the hands of such a bishop. He was eventually advanced to the priesthood in 1801, when Provoost had been succeeded by the sympathetic and saintly Moore. In Bishop Moore's register this entry appears:

October 11, 1801—In St. George's Chapel, Mr. Daniel Nash, a deacon in the Church, was ordained priest. This is the first Episcopal duty which I have performed. By God's blessing, may it be beneficial to his church!

At Butternuts, in the southern part of Otsego County, Nash found a ready welcome. In 1778 Ichabod Palmer and Elnathan Noble had come into this section from Connecticut; like many Connecticut immigrants during this period, they brought with them a deep attachment to the Episcopal Church. No sooner had Palmer built his log cabin than he made it a house of God. For years on every Sunday he gathered a group consisting of five communicants with their families, and conducted service for them as a lay reader. Among these was General Jacob Morris, who in 1793 went three hundred miles on horseback to attend the convention of the diocese in New York City as the representative of "the Church in Otsego County." In 1793 the ubiquitous Ammi Rogers visited the place on an evangelizing trip. In 1796 the Rev. Daniel Burhans,<sup>14</sup> a priest of the diocese of Connecticut, held some services here, and it was apparently owing to his representations that Nash decided to settle in this section. Nash first lived in the neighboring village of Exeter, but his most important work was done at Butternuts. Under his direction, and with considerable pecuniary aid from General Morris, Harmony Church was erected in 1801, a plain structure of unpainted wood. The parish soon developed into one of the strongest rural congregations in the state. But Nash, like Daniel

<sup>14</sup>DANIEL BURHANS (July 7, 1763—December 30, 1853). Born at Sherman, Connecticut, and reared in the Congregational Church. Although largely self-taught, his learning was such that Trinity College conferred on him the honorary degree of doctor of divinity in 1831. While a teacher in Lanesborough, Massachusetts, he read himself into the Episcopal Church, receiving his first communion on Whitsunday, 1783. Under the supervision of the Rev. Gideon Bostwick (see Footnote No. 19) he served as lay reader and studied theology. On June 5, 1793, he was ordered deacon, and on June 8, 1794, priest, by Bishop Seabury. He succeeded Bostwick at Great Barrington and Lanesborough, and during the ensuing six years founded two other churches—at Lenox, Massachusetts, and New Lebanon, New York. His other cures, all in Connecticut, were: Newton, 1799-1830; Woodbury, Roxbury, and Bethlehem, 1830-1831; Plymouth, 1831-1837; Oxford and Zoar, until 1844. In the latter year, at the age of 81 and in the 51st of his ministry, he retired to Poughkeepsie, New York. The vigor of his mind and body was retained, and his theological studies continued, almost to the last. He assisted at the Eucharist only the month before he died. At the time of his death, aged 90 years and six months, he was the oldest clergyman in the American Episcopal Church. He was four times married, his fourth wife surviving him. See Sprague, V, 410-414.

Boone, was forever pushing on to new frontiers. He retained charge of Butternuts, which eventually changed its name to Morris, until 1814, when he found a worthy successor in the Rev. Russell Wheeler,<sup>15</sup> locally known as "Priest" Wheeler, who assumed charge of Morris and Unadilla. By 1818 the parish had outgrown its first crude building, and in that year a strong church was erected, of the Gothic type just beginning to come in, and was consecrated the same year by Bishop Hobart. By 1820 Zion Church, Morris, had developed so rapidly that Priest Wheeler moved here from Unadilla, where he had previously resided, and devoted practically all his time to this place.

Meanwhile, Nash was reaching out into new fields. In 1799 he was at Richfield, where he organized St. Luke's Church at a meeting held in Brewster's Tavern. At Cooperstown, where the Rev. Thomas Ellison of Albany had officiated in 1797, he found a productive field of labor. The Cooper family were staunch Episcopalians; the novelist had been a pupil of Ellison's. Nash's first service here was the funeral of Cooper's sister, in 1800. Between 1807 and 1810 the church building was in process of erection, largely through the generous support of the Cooper family. In 1811 the parish was formally organized. For a time Nash continued to be rector; eventually the parish became prosperous, and Nash moved on, though he held the title of rector for a number of years after his successor, the Rev. Frederick Tiffany, had assumed the actual charge of the parish. At nearby Unadilla, St. Matthew's parish was organized in 1809. These three, Unadilla, Morris, and Cooperstown, constituted Nash's strongest foundations. But they by no means limited his sphere of work. He resided most of the time at Exeter, where he established St. John's Church, which lingered on for a number of years, but eventually became extinct. In Otsego County he visited and held services at Springfield, Cherry Valley, Westford, Edmeston, Burlington, Hartwick, Fly Creek, Burlington Flatts, Laurens, Le Roy, Worcester, New Lisbon, Richfield Springs, and Warren. Pushing into Delaware County, he worked at Franklin and Stamford; in Montgomery County, at Canajoharie. We even find him in the distant valley of the St. Lawrence, holding at Ogdensburg the first services of the Episcopal Church in St. Lawrence County. Twelve parishes and missions of the present diocese of Albany owe their foundation to his efforts.

In 1799 Philander Chase, then on his journey to the western part of the state, turned aside from his route expressly to visit Nash, of

<sup>15</sup>RUSSELL WHEELER (May 2, 1783-February 18, 1861). Williams College, 1803. Ordained deacon, June 9, 1805; priest, June 4, 1807; by Bishop Jarvis of Connecticut.

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whose work he had heard. The meeting between these two kindred pioneers and missionary heroes resulted in the formation of a deep and lasting friendship. In his *Reminiscences*, Chase gives an account of the meeting—an account which reveals both the profound churchmanship of the two men, and the hardships under which Nash labored:

"It was a meeting of two persons deeply convinced of the primitive and apostolic foundation of the Church to which, on account of its purity of doctrine and the divine right of its ministry, they had fled from a chaos of confusion of other sects. They were both 'Missionaries,' though the name was not yet understood or appreciated. The one had given up all his hopes of more comfortable living in the well-stored country at the east, and had come to Otsego County, to preach the gospel and build up the Church on apostolic ground, with no assurance of a salary but such as he could glean from the cold soil of un-renewed nature, or pluck from the clusters of the few *scions* which he might engraft into the vine Christ Jesus. He lived not in a tent, as the patriarchs did, surrounded with servants to tend his flocks, to milk his kine, and 'bring him butter in a lordly dish'; but in a cabin built of unhewn logs, with scarcely a pane of glass to let in light sufficient to read his Bible; and even this cabin was not his own, nor was he permitted to live in one for a long time together. All this was witnessed by the other, who came to see him and helped him carry his little articles of crockery, holding one handle of the basket and Mr. N. the other, and as they walked the road, 'talking of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God.'

"Well does the writer remember how the little one-roomed cabin looked as he entered it; how joyful that good man was that he had been mindful to fetch a few nails, which he had used in the other cabin just left, for his comfort in this, now the receptacle of all his substance. These he drove into the logs with great judgment, choosing the place most appropriate for his hat, his coat, and other garments of himself and family. All this while his patient wife, who directing the children to kindle the fire, prepared the food."

There is but little of exaggeration in the estimate of Nash's work by his contemporary, the Rev. Daniel Burhans: "Apostolic is the word for his sincerity, his heroic devotion, his complete self-abnegation . . . He did more to extend the Episcopal Church than any other clergyman ever did in the United States."

## V

One notable fact about the growth of the Episcopal Church at the turn of the century emerges from our study—the large part the laity played in the revival. In many instances, as at Ballston and Morris, the initiative came entirely from the laymen—the priest appeared when he was sent for. This was true of the start of the Church in Troy. In 1798, as we have noted, Philander Chase had visited the village on his first missionary trip. Here he was warmly welcomed by Eliakim Warren, who had moved to Troy that same year from Norwalk, Connecticut, where he had been a devout and active churchman. Warren at once set about founding a parish in his new home. North of Troy lay the village of Lansingburg, at that time the larger community of the two. Here also were a few churchmen. Bishop Moore suggested that a church be built midway between the two communities to care for both. But the laymen, with a combination of faith and daring resolved to have two parishes. In 1804 St. Paul's Church, Troy, and Trinity Church, Lansingburg, were organized, and the Rev. David Butler<sup>16</sup> was called as rector of both. Work was at once started on the two buildings. Trinity Church, New York, assisted, and in 1806 the two churches were, on consecutive days, consecrated by Bishop Moore. The growth of St. Paul's, Troy, was phenomenal. The community was growing rapidly; the laymen were enthusiastic, and the rector was a steady and able worker. In 1820 it was found necessary to enlarge the building; in eight years' time the parish had outgrown the enlarged church, and in 1828 the present church, capable of seating eight hundred people, was completed. In the same year, Butler reported to the convention that the number of communicants was two hundred—more than in any other parish of the diocese outside New York City. Two factors, aside from the growth of the community, undoubtedly had much to do with this rapid increase. The first was stability in ministrations. Butler, who appears to have been an exceptionally good parish priest, remained as rector until his retirement from active service in 1834. The second was the continuing benefactions of the Warren family, who not only gave liberally to St. Paul's, but a few years later built and endowed the Church of the Holy Cross, Troy, with its parochial school. The writer of these pages attended General Theological Seminary under

<sup>16</sup>DAVID BUTLER (1763-July 11, 1842). Born at Harwinton, Connecticut, and reared a Congregationalist. Served in the Continental army, and then engaged in business after the war. Ordained deacon, June 10, 1792; priest, June 9, 1793; by Bishop Seabury. Washington (now Trinity) College, D. D., 1832. Served St. Michael's, Litchfield, Connecticut, 1794-99; Reading, Connecticut, 1799-1804. See Sprague, V, 389-391.

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a scholarship established by Eliakim Warren. From the seed planted at St. Paul's there eventually grew six other parishes in the city of Troy.

The growth of the sister parish in Lansingburg was not so rapid, but it was normal and steady. By 1818 the two parishes had grown too large to be managed by one priest. Across the Hudson from Lansingburg was the village of Waterford, where Ammi Rogers had formed a parish. This had apparently become dormant, and in 1810 a new parish was created there, and the Rev. Parker Adams called as joint rector. He was followed by two exceptional men, the Rev. George Upfold,<sup>17</sup> later bishop of Indiana, and the Rev. Benjamin Dorr.<sup>18</sup> Under these two men, the parishes of Waterford and Lansingburg became sound and thriving organizations.

## VI

We have now indicated the main lines of growth of the Episcopal Church in this area during this period. But that growth was by no means confined to these main lines. The Church was coming into more general esteem, and here and there throughout the territory under consideration groups of churchmen were busy organizing themselves into parishes, searching for priests, erecting buildings. Throughout the Revolution, the Rev. Gideon Bostwick<sup>19</sup> of Great Barrington, Massachusetts, had been ministering occasionally in Columbia County, especially in the neighborhood of the present city of Hudson. Under his direction, an effort was made to build a church in that place; for five years a campaign for funds was carried on. When it had progressed far enough to make a building seem assured, a resident priest was called, the Rev.

<sup>17</sup>GEORGE UPFOLD (May 7, 1796-August 26, 1872). Born in England, emigrating to America when eight years of age. Union College, 1814; College of Physicians and Surgeons, New York City, 1816. Ordered deacon, October 21, 1818, and priest, July 13, 1820, by Bishop Hobart. Rector successively of Trinity, Lansingburg; St. Luke's and St. Thomas', New York City; Trinity Church, Pittsburg. Consecrated bishop of Indiana, December 16, 1849.

<sup>18</sup>BENJAMIN DORR (1796-September 18, 1869). One of the six graduates of the first class from the General Theological Seminary. Ordered deacon, June 25, 1820, by Bishop Hobart. First secretary of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society following its reorganization in 1835. Rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia, 1837-1869.

<sup>19</sup>GIDEON BOSTWICK (September 21, 1742-June 13, 1793). Born in New Milford, Connecticut, and reared a Congregationalist. Yale, 1762, where he became an Episcopalian. Ordained deacon, February 24, 1770, and priest, March 11, 1770, by Bishop Terrick of London. Resided the rest of his life in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, which he made the center of his wide missionary labors. During his ministry he baptized 81 adults and 2,244 children. See Dexter, *Yale Biographies*, II, 731-733; Sprague, V, 274-277.

Walter C. Gardiner,<sup>20</sup> who came to Hudson in 1794, and whose ministrations extended to Claverack, Athens, and Catskill. St. Paul's parish was formally organized in 1795; but this promising beginning came to an untimely end. Gardiner quarreled with his vestry over a question of funds, and left. For a few years services were occasionally held by an English priest named Hinley, who conducted a school in the city. On May 5, 1802, came the real beginning of the church in Hudson as a permanent organization. At a meeting held on that date, Christ Church was incorporated; on June 28 of the same year, the Rev. Bethel Judd,<sup>21</sup> who had helped in the work of organization, was called as rector. In the same month, Bishop Moore visited the parish, and work was begun on the church building. On Christmas Day of that year the church was sufficiently finished to be usable. A substantial grant from Trinity Church, New York, cleared the building of debt, and on October 2, 1803, the church was consecrated by Bishop Moore. Under Mr. Judd's energetic direction, in 1803 the "Episcopal Sunday Charity School" was established, the first provision for free education in the city, and the first Sunday School in the state outside New York City. An indication of the growth and strength of the parish is the fact that in 1804 and in 1805, fifty-five persons were presented for confirmation.

Mr. Judd left Hudson in 1807 to become rector of Anne Arundell parish in Maryland and principal of St. John's College. In 1812 we find him in Fairfield, in Herkimer County, taking part in an exceedingly ambitious venture. In 1803 an academy had been opened in that place under Presbyterian auspices. Now Fairfield had been a noted Tory center during the Revolution, and practically destroyed. It was resettled by immigrants from Connecticut, and as usual, immigrants from Connecticut brought the Church with them. In December, 1806, the Rev. Amos G. Baldwin, missionary at Utica, visited the village and held there the first service of the Episcopal Church in Herkimer County. In January, 1807, Trinity Church, Fairfield, was organized, and a building was erected which was consecrated by Bishop Moore that same year. When Judd became rector, he also became principal of the academy. In 1813, Trinity Church, New York, came forward with an offer of a grant of \$750 per annum on condition that four divinity students every year be taken into the academy and given free theological

<sup>20</sup>WALTER C. GARDINER (died c. 1801). Ordered deacon June 24, 1792, by Bishop Provoost. After serving Hudson, New York, he moved to Christ Church, Dover, Delaware.

<sup>21</sup>BETHEL JUDD (May, 1776-April 8, 1858). Yale, 1797. Ordained deacon, September 30, 1798, by Bishop Jarvis; priest, November 22, 1801, by Bishop Provoost. Had a varied career. Instrumental in organizing the diocese of North Carolina, 1817. See Dexter, *Yale Biographies*, V, 292-295.

instruction. This was the second attempt (the Episcopal Academy, Cheshire, Connecticut, being the first) in the history of the American Church to provide institutional teaching for candidates for holy orders. It was a daring project for that remote country—in 1807 Fairfield was in the wild west—but the prospects were bright, and the work was going forward excellently when the incipient seminary received two crushing blows. Judd was succeeded in 1814 as rector and principal by the Rev. Virgil H. Barber,<sup>22</sup> a priest from Connecticut. In 1816 he resigned the parish, and in the following year seceded to the Roman Church, entering the Society of Jesus and taking the name of Signori Barberini, while his wife became a Visitation nun. This blow might have been overcome. His successor at Fairfield, the Rev. Daniel McDonald,<sup>23</sup> appears to have been an exceptionally competent educator. But Bishop Hobart felt that the location was not the strategic one for a Church seminary, the General Theological Seminary (authorized by the General Convention in 1817) was to be settled permanently in New York City, and in accordance with his decision, McDonald left in 1821 to organize Hobart College and the branch seminary which was for a time connected with it. The grant from Trinity Church was withdrawn, and the seminary project at Fairfield came to an end. The secondary school continued to operate, however, in close connection with the parish, and Fairfield became the missionary center from which were established all the parishes in Herkimer County. The subsequent history of Fairfield is rather melancholy. The academy was eventually killed by the rise of the public high school; and the village which had grown up around it dwindled away. All that is left today is a cross-roads with a dozen houses, and the old wooden church, which stands, except for the addition of a chancel, as it was built in 1807, and is still attended by a handful of faithful communicants.

One other beginning of this period must be given separate mention. In 1795 a group of Episcopal laymen of the towns of Stamford, Harpersfield, and Kortright, in Delaware County, met and organized St. Peter's Church. The parish register shows baptisms performed in

<sup>22</sup>VIRGIL H. BARBER. Ordained deacon June 9, 1805; priest, September 20, 1807, by Bishop Jarvis. He contended that lay baptism was invalid and memorialized the General Convention of 1811 to procure a declaration to that effect. It was not forthcoming. In the Roman Church it is not uncommon for physicians and midwives to baptize. "It is a well known property of extremes," said Bishop White in his *Memoirs* concerning this incident, "that they are often seen making the connecting points of a circle." Barber was deposed in 1817.

<sup>23</sup>DANIEL McDONALD (c. 1786-March 25, 1830). Reared a Quaker. After attending Middlebury College for a time, he entered the Episcopal Academy, Cheshire, Connecticut, 1802-1806. Ordained deacon March 18, 1810; priest, December 20, 1812; by Bishop Jarvis. Columbia, Hon. S. T. D., 1821. See Sprague V, 525-530.



the previous year by the Rev. Ebenezer Dibble,<sup>24</sup> "missionary in the town of Stamford." There is no mention of him in the diocesan journals of New York, for the Stamford in which he was the official "missionary" is in Connecticut, where Dibble had a long ministry. Immediately upon organization, the parish applied for admission into union with the convention, and provisionally placed itself under the care and inspection of the rector of St. Peter's, Albany, although the Rev. Walter Gardiner, of Hudson, was actually in charge of the work, and in 1796 was formally called as rector. In 1797, Gardiner having left Hudson, the Rev. Robert Wetmore of Duanesburg visited the parish, and the vestry asked that he might be assigned to them as rector. But he felt unable to accept the call, and the parish for a time remained vacant. In 1799 Philander Chase stopped here, as we have noted, as he returned from his missionary trip to the western part of the state, and it was proposed that he should settle here as rector. The arrangements were almost concluded when Chase received a call to the parish in Poughkeepsie, and asked for and received a release from the vestry here. Undiscouraged by their vain attempts to secure a resident priest, the laymen went on with their plans, and in 1801 began the erection of their church building, a wooden structure of the meeting-house type, similar to Christ Church, Duanesburg. Finally, in 1802, the Rev. Joseph Perry<sup>25</sup> was called as rector, accepted, and the parish began to operate fully. In 1828 the village changed its name to Hobart, in honor of the bishop of the diocese.

This article, if it does nothing else, at least ought to bear witness to two facts. The first is the surprising initiative shown by the laity of this period. The second is the inherent vitality of the Episcopal Church at the end of a century notorious in history for religious laxity and decay. When the Treaty of Paris was signed in 1783, there were within the territory covered by our survey five buildings belonging to the Church—all of which were closed. By 1790, only one had revived. By 1810, twenty-five parishes or mission stations were in existence and growing. The one priest had been multiplied to fourteen. Ten new buildings had been completed, and others were in process of erection. The Church, like her Master had experienced a resurrection.

<sup>24</sup>EBENEZER DIBBLE (c. 1715-May 9, 1799). Yale, 1734. D. D., Columbia, 1793. Served as a Congregational minister until 1745. Lay reader in the Episcopal Church for three years. Ordained August or September, 1748, in England. Served Stamford, Connecticut, for the rest of his life, and as a center for his missionary journeys which were very fruitful. See Dexter, *Yale Biographies*, I, 507-509.

<sup>25</sup>JOSEPH PERRY (1778-December 13, 1829). Ordained deacon, October 19, 1802; priest, December 13, 1802; by Bishop Jarvis.

A TABLE TO SHOW THE GROWTH OF PARISHES WITHIN THE AREA OF  
THIS SURVEY

| <i>Parish</i>                       | <i>Established</i> | <i>In union with</i> | <i>Church con-</i> |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| Queen Anne's Chapel, Fort<br>Hunter | 1704               |                      | secrated<br>1712*  |
| St. Peter's, Albany                 | 1708               | 1787                 | 1716*              |
| St. George's, Schenectady           | 1765               | 1794                 | 1769**             |
| St. John's, Johnstown               | 1770               | 1791                 | 1760-6*            |
| Christ, Ballston                    | 1787               | 1787                 | 1791***            |
| St. James', Milton                  | 1790               | 1796                 | 1793*              |
| Christ, Duanesburg                  | 1793               | 1789                 | 1793               |
| St. Peter's, Hobart                 | 1794               | 1796                 | 1813               |
| St. John's, Stillwater              | 1795               | 1796                 | 1827               |
| Christ, Hudson                      | 1794               | 1794                 | 1803               |
| Trinity, Waterford                  | 1796               | 1796                 | No building        |
| Christ, Hampton                     | 1798               | ?                    | 1812               |
| St. John's, Exeter                  | 1799?              | ?                    | ?                  |
| St. Luke's, Richfield               | 1799               | 1803                 | 1803               |
| Trinity, Ashland                    | 1799               | ?                    |                    |
| St. Luke's, Catskill                | 1801               | 1802                 | 1801               |
| Zion, Morris                        | 1801               | 1793                 | 1801               |
| St. Paul's, Charlton                | 1803               | 1810                 | 1803               |
| St. Paul's, Troy                    | 1804               | 1807                 | 1805               |
| Trinity, Lansingburg                | 1804               | 1807                 | 1805               |
| Trinity, Athens                     | 1806               | 1808                 | 1813               |
| Trinity, Fairfield                  | 1807               | 1807                 | 1807               |
| St. Paul's, Oak Hill                | 1809               | 1816                 | 1834               |
| St. Matthew's, Unadilla             | 1809               | 1810                 | 1813               |

\*Never consecrated.

\*\*Consecrated 1859.

\*\*\*Consecrated 1818.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Thomas Bray, 1658-1730: Founder of Missionary Enterprise.* By John Wolfe Lydekker.

*Contributions of the S. P. G. to the American Way of Life.* By Frank J. Klingberg. Philadelphia, Church Historical Society, 1943. Publication No. 14. Pages, 44.

(From *The Guardian*, England).

The Church Historical Society of the Episcopal Church in U. S. A. for its latest publication has reproduced in pamphlet form two important articles from the S. P. G. number of the *Historical Magazine* which appeared in September of last year.

The first of these two articles, that by Mr. J. W. Lydekker, archivist to the S. P. G., gives an able and interesting account of the life and work of one whose work is perhaps not as well known in the Anglican Communion as it should be. Thomas Bray was born at Marton, in the parish in Chibury, Shropshire, on May 2, 1658, in a house which is still known as "Bray's Tenement." Bray attended the Grammar School at Oswestry, from which at the age of seventeen he went up to Oxford to Hart Hall, and afterwards migrated to All Souls' College. At the close of three years at the university, Bray took his B. A. degree, but, owing to his parents' poverty, was unable to reside any longer as he would wish to have done. In 1696, when Rector of Sheldon, he was appointed by the Bishop of London, Dr. Compton, as his commissary to Maryland. He thereupon set himself to recruit clergy to the Church in Maryland, and to provide libraries for their use. The plan for the foundation of libraries he decided should be extended to Great Britain, using the deaneries as the basis for the scheme. His idea of utilizing the deaneries resulted, as was evidently intended, in reviving their jurisdiction and making them again a real part in the life of the Church. Thus was started the organization known as "The Associates of the late Dr. Bray," which still carries on its founder's plans in all parts of the world.

Bray next turned his attention towards a scheme for the more effectual propagation of Christianity in the colonies. This resulted in the foundation of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Bray's appointment as Rector of St. Botolph's, Aldgate, in 1706, brought him into touch with the terrible conditions then prevailing in prison life. "Bray at once decided to procure benefactions for the relief of prisoners, and he prevailed on his friends and other kindly-disposed persons to contribute funds for 'Bread, Beef and Broth' on Sundays and occasional weekdays, for the prisoners in Whitechapel and Borough Compton gaols." Mr. Lydekker has done good service in calling our attention afresh to the life and work of this great and good man.

Dr. Klingberg, Professor of History in the University of California, contributes the second essay. Though slender, it is of value in the study

of the American Episcopal Church. In its examination of the "Contributions of the S. P. G. to the American Way of Life", it also bears testimony to the work of Thomas Bray:

The genius of Thomas Bray and his successors lies in their complete understanding of the frontier problem of intellectual poverty in all its ramifications. With superb intelligence, they took steps to remedy this colonial poverty of the mind and soul. No body of men has ever more thoroughly analyzed the spiritual and intellectual needs of a new society than did Bray and his associates. Their main objective was the equalization of Christian culture on both sides of the Atlantic. To accomplish this feat, libraries were provided, schools were established, King's College (Columbia University) and Codrington College in the West Indies were founded, and a stream of outgoing commissaries, clergy, catechists, and teachers was maintained for nearly a century.

R. D. MIDDLETON,

*The Vicarage,  
Milton-under-Wychwood, Oxford, England.*

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*A History of St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, Jackson, Mississippi: 1839-1944; Commemorating the 105th Anniversary of the Parish, and the 25th Anniversary of the Rectorship of the Rev. Walter B. Capers, D. D., by Nash K. Burger, Historiographer of the Diocese.*

This handsome brochure of thirty pages is very readable and contains much valuable information. The data concerning the clergy who have served the parish from the beginning are especially so. For example, the hitherto bare record of the New Jersey born nephew of the first bishop of New Jersey, the Rev. William Croes Crane, is now clothed with flesh and blood. Something which the Episcopal Church must one day have, is a *Biographical Dictionary* of all of its clergy from the beginning. Authoritative parish histories are helpful to this end, and copies of all such should be deposited in the library of the Church Historical Society, looking to the realization of this larger objective.

WALTER H. STOWE.

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*Flower Arrangements in the Church, by Katherine Morrison McClinton. Morehouse-Gorham Co. 1944.*

This book supplies a long felt want. It is an admirable manual for the arrangement of flowers primarily on the altar and in the church on such special occasions as Christmas and Easter; also at weddings. It is valuable equally for what to do and what not to do. The illustrations are excellent. It should be in the hands of all altar guilds.

E. C. C.

*Diocese of Mississippi: Journal of the Third Convention, 1828.* Together with the *Constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Society for the Advancement of Christianity in the State of Mississippi*, and a *Sermon at the Opening of the Convention by the Rev. James A. Fox*. (Reprint.) Edited by Nash K. Burger, Historiographer of the Diocese.

This is the third in a series of reprints of the *journals* of the diocese of Mississippi. [For a review of the first, see *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, Vol. X (1941), 294; for a review of the second, *ibid.*, XI (1942), 193.] It is the most interesting, if not the most important, of the three, because it contains more data, and consequently throws more light on the actual state of the Church.

The convention consisted of three clergymen and eight laymen; the diocesan treasurer had received a total of \$43.00 during the preceding year, and paid out \$15.00 to print the 1827 *Journal*; a "Sunday School society" had been established in Trinity Church, Natchez, and a "fine toned Organ, built by Messrs. Loud and Brothers, of Philadelphia," had been installed in that church; the Rev. Mr. Fox of Woodville had been "compelled to resort to the business of teaching, in order to defray his current expenses"; the three clergy were itinerating as much as possible to serve the several unshepherded congregations; and the report of the standing committee made them conscious of their membership in a national Church. The diocese had no bishop.

The constitution of the *Society for the Advancement of Christianity in the State of Mississippi* is exceedingly interesting. Its threefold objectives were: (1) To purchase and distribute Bibles, Prayer Books, and religious tracts; (2) to send forth missionaries to promising fields within and without the state; (3) to encourage, train and educate "youths of genius and piety" for the ministry of the Church. The story of the society's accomplishments should be written up. Similar societies in older dioceses were a powerful factor in the Church's revival, 1811-1840.

If all sermons of the period were as good as Fox's, the standard was high. His text (Isaiah 62:6, 7) was also given in Bishop Lowth's famous poetic translation of that book, indicating the wide influence of that pioneer scholar in biblical criticism. From this sermon we can gather what the clergy in the Southwest, and probably elsewhere, were "up against." Fox presents and answers two false charges against the Church: (1) "That the ministers of the Episcopal Church are preachers of *morality merely*"; (2) "that we deny any change of heart or conversion of the soul to God, to be necessary to salvation." In his conclusion he pays tribute to the late Rev. James Pilmore, "who was amongst the first labourers in this vineyard."

Not all dioceses are as fortunate as Mississippi in having a historiographer such as Mr. Burger; but they can all make available in reprints their early journals, which are indispensable to the writing of diocesan history.

WALTER H. STOWE.



*The World's Great Sermons*, edited by S. E. Frost, Jr. Halcyon House, Garden City, New York.

This attractive volume contains an interesting collection of a hundred-and-one sermons, many of them by notable persons. In his introduction, Dr. Frost calls attention to the importance of the sermon in varying ages and conditions, an importance which has by no means grown less today:

Some [sermons] have sought to teach men and women about their religion and their God. Others are proclamations of right, justice, God's will, the path to be followed. Still others are clarion calls to duty, trumpet-like challenges to a wavering people. Then there are the sermons of consolation and comfort for those in distress. When the burdens of life become heavy, and suffering sweeps o'er men like a flood, they turn to the preacher for words of hope and assurance. Indeed, whatever man's need the preacher is found proclaiming in a sermon religion's answer.

The standard of preaching will be raised throughout our Church when the importance of the sermon is fully realized by the preacher, and we can say without hesitation, although we may not like to admit the fact, that our congregations will be larger.

We are glad to have in this volume what may be described as historic sermons, though many of them sound strangely unattractive. On the other hand, Fénelon's talk on prayer is perfect in its simplicity and spirituality. It could be preached today without the change of a single word. John Wesley's discourse on The Great Assize, preached before Sir Edward Clive in St. Paul's Church, Bedford, on March 10, 1758, is unimpressive, and consists mainly of a string of Scripture passages. Another famous Assize Sermon, that of John Richard Keble, which has perhaps had more influence than any other on the life of the Anglican Communion, is not included. Many more attractive pulpit utterances among those of John Henry Newman might have been found than his "Three Offices of Christ." But we are grateful to have him, the prince of English preachers, included in this notable collection.

To come to more recent times, we find an exquisite sermon from Henry Van Dyke. But why are we given two sermons by Dr. W. R. Inge, an honour accorded in this book only to John Bunyan and Horace Bushnell? Charles Spurgeon's "Everybody's Sermon" sounds dull and unimpressive. Doubtless his power in the pulpit came from his personality rather than from his ability as a preacher. Many modern sermons preached in America by men unknown in this country are naturally included, and we are grateful for them. Another edition of this volume might with advantage include pulpit utterances from Arthur Henry Stanton, Henry Scott Holland, Bishop Boyd Carpenter and Bishop Gore. Who that has heard them will ever forget Stanton's persuasiveness, Holland's torrential eloquence, Carpenter's flow of glorious English

like the smooth, swift movement of a clear, strong, beautiful river, and Gore's prophetic zeal?

The book would gain in the eyes of some by the omission of the Sermon on the Mount, both from the point of reverence as well as that of scholarship. But we are grateful for what has been given to us. The present reviewer, had he now his happy Pastoralia class in a well-known theological college closed for the duration, would set as an admirable exercise many of these sermons to be analyzed by his pupils and perhaps also to be preached by them.

R. D. MIDDLETON.

*The Vicarage, Milton-under-Wychwood, Oxford, England.*

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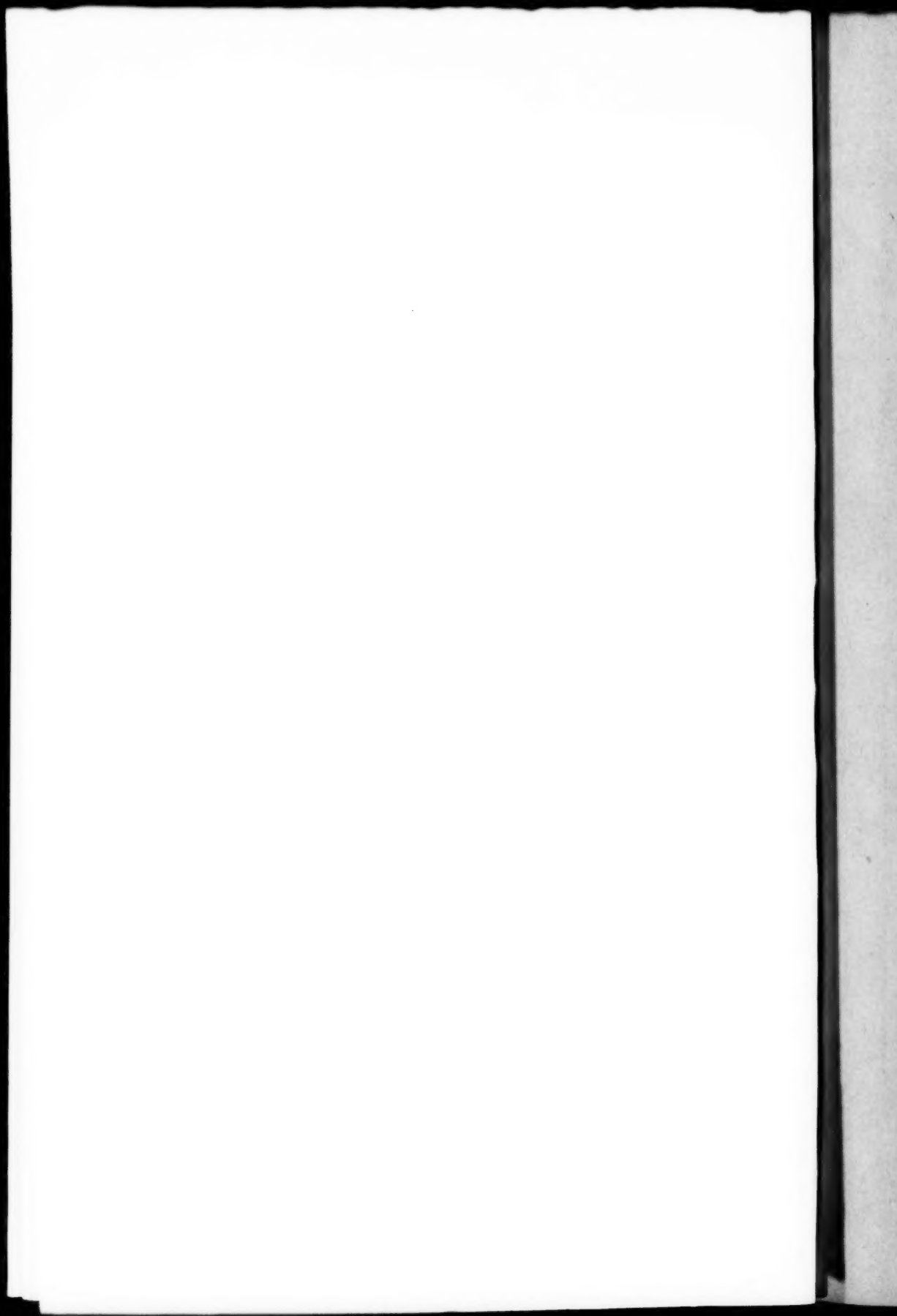
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